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Review*

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Public Administration Review

THE JOURNAL OF THE AMERICAN SOCIETY FOR PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

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Research in Public Administration: Some Notes and Suggestions	Frederick C. Mosher	169
A Look at Some Administrative Problems	Ray Lappegaard	179
A Lesson in Cooperation	Philip R. Berger	187
After the Therblig—What?	Karel F. Ficek	192
A General Theory of Public Employment	Arch Dotson	197
Reviews of Books and Documents		
Natural Resources and Government	Lyle E. Craine	212
<i>Natural Resources and the Political Struggle</i> , by Norman Wengert; <i>Water Resources and Power; A Report to the Congress</i> , by the Commission on Organization of the Executive Branch of the Government; <i>Water Resources Policy; A Report</i> , by the Presidential Advisory Committee on Water Resources Policy; <i>Natural Resources and Conservation</i> , Report by the Study Committee on Natural Resources and Conservation submitted to the Commission on Intergovernmental Relations.		
County Government in Transition	William N. Cassella, Jr.	223
<i>The Government of Metropolitan Miami</i> , by Public Administration Service; <i>An Urban Home Rule Charter for Allegheny County</i> . A Report by the Metropolitan Study Commission of Allegheny County; <i>The Government of Dallas County, Texas</i> , by John M. Claunch; <i>The Government of Milwaukee County, A Concluding Report</i> , by Public Administration Service; <i>Final Report of DeKalb County Local Government Commission</i> ; <i>Report of the Commission to Study the Structure of Baltimore County Government</i> ; <i>Proposed Home Rule Charter for Baltimore County, Maryland</i> ; <i>Metropolitan Metamorphosis, The Story of the Change of St. Louis County, Missouri from a Rural to an Urban Area</i> , by M. Eugene Baughman; <i>Local Government in Kent County</i> , by League of Women Voters; <i>The Problem of Government in Leon County</i> , by Penrose B. Jackson, James J. Flannery, and Fred Bair, Jr.		
Research Notes		232
Contemporary Topics		238

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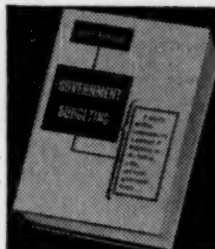
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IN THIS NUMBER

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Research in Public Administration: Some Notes and Suggestions

By FREDERICK C. MOSHER

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IT is one of the marks of a profession that its members consciously work toward the advancement of knowledge in their field. Where the profession is organized, one of the purposes of its association in virtually all cases is to promote and facilitate research. Those in public administration have a professional drive, expressed through a vigorous society which marks this year its seventeenth birthday. With new financial resources and an expanded program it can look forward to bursting the bonds of adolescence. The central theme of this paper is that it is now time for critical assessment of where the profession stands in the matter of advancement of knowledge. In spite of the pride it may rightfully take in the achievements to date, there is much to be done in the field of research.

Background of Public Administration Research

HISTORIANS of this field usually trace its modern origins to the stir-up about scandal, waste, and politics in the cities around the turn of the century. One of the reactions was the emergence of the privately sponsored bureaus of municipal research, originally led by the grandfather of them all, the New York Bureau of Municipal Research, which was founded just a half-century ago. During the following twenty-five years, the bureau movement spread to most of the larger cities; its ideology and methodology and many of its personnel moved during these same years to the states and the federal government. To a considerable extent, public administration is itself a child of research—a pretty strictly “applied” research it is true. Those twenty-five

years were yeasty ones in this field—with activity, with ideas, and with applications. They saw the founding of the International City Managers’ Association and most of the other professional societies of public officials. In fact, the emergence of a self-conscious professionalism in public service was largely a by-product of that period. It was then that the Governmental Research Association flowered, that the Institute for Government Research (later the Brookings Institution) flourished, and that men of trail-blazing stature in our field came into prominence—like Brownlow, Cleveland, Gulick, Meriam, Mosher, Upson, White, Willoughby, and many others.

The momentum of the bureau movement slowed almost to a walk during the depression. Its research leadership gradually and somewhat painfully lapsed. Much of the slack was taken up by the vigorous development of the various professional organizations, particularly at “1313” in Chicago. These continue to this day to provide organizational focuses for a great deal of applied research effort. The Public Administration Clearing House has promoted and sponsored a great number of projects and conferences, and its service in this regard has been invaluable. Public Administration Service likewise has contributed tremendously through its many studies, and it has provided an important publishing outlet.

The depression, the New Deal, and later the war transferred the spotlight of interest from the cities to the nation and also exposed new kinds and dimensions of problems. Some of the earlier approaches and “principles” were called into question. Research after the thirties tended, by and large, to be more behavioral,

more descriptive, less normative, less dogmatic. Fortunately for the continued virility of the field, leadership in more basic research was assumed in large part by the Committee on Public Administration of the Social Science Research Council.¹ From 1935, when its research program was launched, to the later war years, this committee sponsored, supported, and provided for the publication of some of the most significant research projects ever done in public administration. They included, for example: the survey of city manager governments under the leadership of Stone, Price, and Stone; the Gaus and Wolcott study of the U.S. Department of Agriculture; a variety of studies on the administration of social security programs, state and national; the Key and Gettys studies of grants-in-aid; Graham's survey of training for public administration; and the first volumes of case studies in public administration. As its closing gesture, in 1945, the committee published a report reviewing its accomplishments written by its last chairman, William Anderson, along with a thoughtful monograph on research in public administration by John M. Gaus.² Taken together, these two papers provide both a valuable inventory on research in the field to that date and some provocative proposals for the future.

Postwar Developments

The period of World War II was, of course, a virtual hiatus in private research effort. Yet it provided a great deal of content and experience, as well as some government-sponsored studies of much postwar significance. The many war histories were rich in administrative materials, and the biographies, autobiographies, and public papers of war and postwar leaders have been adding grist to the mill. A revival of interest in the structure and procedure of administrative agencies, touched off by the first Hoover Commission, persists to this day in more or less parallel studies in state and local governments, as well as at the federal

level. Individual research undertakings of major importance are exemplified by the administrative histories of Leonard D. White and by such studies as those of Somers on OWMR and workmen's compensation, Redford on economic regulation, Thompson on OPA, and Maass on the Corps of Engineers.

Indeed, the amount and the variety of public administration research in recent years have been impressive. The universities continue to engage in projects, and the university bureau movement proceeds with undiminished vigor on pragmatic problems. The foundations are supporting a few projects in, or pertinent to, public administration. Governmental agencies are performing or supporting a great many.

Furthermore, the field suffers no dearth of creativity and wisdom. One need only mention as examples the writings of Appleby, Fainsod, Gaus, Long, Mansfield, Macmahon, Sayre, Simon, Stein, and Waldo. The books, monographs, "think pieces," and lectures, such as the ten-year series at Alabama or those of the Brookings Institution, offer tremendous variety and richness. One gains some inkling of how far and fast the field has moved by a comparison of textbooks of the last few years—such as those by Dimock and Dimock, or Morstein Marx, or Millett, or Pfiffner and Presthus, or Simon, Smithburg and Thompson, or White—with those current in the thirties, including earlier editions by some of these same authors. A comparison of these with each other suggests also the numerous points of view now current in the field. The garden is extensive and sprawling, with flowers of many kinds and hues. It more nearly resembles an old-fashioned dooryard than a well-tailored promenade.

Indeed, the scope of public administration has so grown that it almost defies classification. Likewise, the types of undertakings to which the word research is applied are far more numerous than was the case, for example, in 1935. Much study of the earlier sort—directed to efficiency, structure, orderliness, and localized problem-solving—continues, perhaps as much as ever. Many of the pragmatic types of projects today, however, lay greater emphasis upon economic, social, and behavioral factors. Increasing attention has been given to non-normative studies of administrative behavior,

¹ The majority of the committee's membership were university professors, but it also included representatives of quasi-public agencies concerned in research and some from government agencies.

² *Research in Public Administration* (Public Administration Service).

politics and administration, organization structure, and like subjects. The work of Simon and his associates at the Carnegie Institute of Technology, of Pfiffner and associates at the University of Southern California, and of such groups in related fields as the Survey Research Center at the University of Michigan, exemplify this type of approach. Between these two categories it is possible to draw a fairly clear line—the one concerned with immediate problem-solving, the other to gaining basic understanding. Many others do not fall cleanly into a groove; examples are the recent revival of interest in metropolitanism, the studies of intergovernmental relations at the University of Minnesota and then by the Kestnbaum Commission, and the studies of military-civil relations.

A significant and different research approach has been the development of descriptive case studies or histories as represented particularly, though not exclusively, by the Inter-University Case Program. This program, now completing its first decade, has produced more than fifty case reports of actual decision-events at all levels of government, constituting a body of interesting, solid data on public administration. The cases have probably been most valuable as teaching material and have served only secondarily to advance general knowledge in the field. One reason for this is that the governing body of the program has quite deliberately refrained from focusing on any single process or problem or area and from developing any particular rubric or pattern of approach—other than simply the "decision." Another is that there has as yet been no effort systematically to review the cases and develop from them a body of hypotheses. Rather, the program has consistently sought variety in subject matter, scope, and method. The case, however, is only one of several possible methodologies for research, and even it has not yet been utilized extensively as a device for systematically exploring a problem area. As a successful, going concern, the Case Program may today be ready to step off into a broader, general program of public administration research. But this would probably require some major organizational as well as programmatic and methodological shifts.

Current Needs and Problems

THE problems of maximizing the research usefulness of the cases—both those completed and those of the future—are in some ways representative of the problems attendant upon public administration research in general. The variety of flowers in the garden is large, but it is hard to gather an artistic bouquet. More is now known about public administration than was the case twenty years ago. But there is a great deal more to know. There are more depths to probe than were then visualized, and more different perspectives from which to start the probing. This field need bow to no other in respect to its sophistication about its subject matter. But such sophistication can senesce into mere dilettantism unless it is grounded in premises and hypotheses that are in some degree ordered and tested and that are continuously refreshed with new data and experience.

For a variety of reasons, public administration stands in danger of such a senescence.

In the first place, there is now little systematic articulation of the scattered research in the field. A great many completed studies are not published to reach beyond very limited audiences, and their discovery is pretty hit or miss. It is a major challenge to the inquisitive scholar to find out what is currently going on, and even after diligent search he may miss studies of importance. The author's own experience is that he has learned much of what is developing from chance conversations at conventions or other professional gatherings. The Contemporary Topics section of the *Public Administration Review* has been helpful, and the *Review's* inauguration of a Research Notes section was designed to alleviate the condition further. These can hardly satisfy the need in its full dimensions, however, unless reinforced by a comprehensive and up-to-date cataloguing and classification of studies. The *Review*, directed as it is to articles and reviews of interest to practitioners as well as academicians, is not itself an adequate or appropriate outlet for more than a very few research reports.

A second and more significant deficiency is the relative absence of correlations, syntheses, or summaries of the findings of research of the past and present. The programing of research

and the selection of pivotal problems in any field is facilitated by a searching and dispassionate review of the work completed and in progress. Little has been done in this direction in public administration in the past decade. It would indeed be a miracle if there had not developed some large research gaps, both as to content and as to type and methodology of research.

A third need is for planning and projecting some of the main lines of direction for the future, and for a degree of guidance as to where to concentrate major research efforts. The field no longer has the narrower and simpler focus of the bureau movement, and it could hardly be satisfied with it if it had. There is now no Committee on Public Administration. The Public Administration Clearing House contributed greatly in this and other regards in late years, but its program has recently been curtailed.

In spite of the number of significant studies since the war, research has hardly kept pace with the growing demands and potential of the field, particularly for studies of deeper and more general kinds. In terms of the problems, the efforts and results have been frugal. It is therefore even more urgent that research resources be applied to areas of need with foresight and careful planning.

Deficiency in this respect has resulted in some significant delays or omissions in the recent past. One is exemplified in connection with the United States and United Nations programs to aid underdeveloped countries. A substantial proportion of all the technical aid programs has been in the field of public administration, and virtually all of these programs depend, in the last analysis, upon administrative effectiveness in bringing about change. Largely through the agency of the Public Administration Clearing House, administrative students in this country had had some contact with leaders of administration in other countries. But there was rather little knowledge about administration abroad, particularly in the non-Western countries; there was little familiarity with the processes of major change even in our own country, let alone in another culture; there was little to guide the planning of programs or their execution. Training pro-

grams of various sorts were set up without benefit of real understandings as to what, in American administration, was desirable in another culture or even what was transferable at all. The whole area, now usually known as comparative administration, was a dark continent. Its illumination today is only a glimmer. What has been learned has been largely by trial and error, and some critics are inclined to feel that we have learned some of the wrong things. There has as yet been rather little systematic cross-filtration of findings, but recent developments in this direction are promising.³ A major research project for the study of comparative administration, planned under the auspices of the American Political Science Association, is still under consideration.

A second example was an immediate outgrowth of the 1952 election—the transition of the federal administration from Democratic to Republican control. Here again the field of public administration was poorly prepared. Lulled by two decades of one-party continuity, many American students had seemingly forgotten that one of the purposes of the political system is to provide for turnovers of party leadership and transitions in administration. Concerned as some were to show that public administration is different from other kinds of administration, they had overlooked one overwhelming, yet elemental, fact of difference—the orderly, calendared change in leadership as a result of election. Thought and technique had been developed for handling budgets, personnel, planning, and organization structure, but only the most incidental attention had been given to the phenomenon of political change. There had been little exploration of the problem of how the program of a newly elected

³ Mention should be made in this connection of the conferences and publications of international groups such as the International Institute of Administrative Sciences and of the Public Administration Clearing House. Among the noteworthy contributions of the latter were the recent report, by John B. Blandford, Jr., *Public Administration in Latin America; Opportunities for Progress through Technical Assistance*, which was prepared for, and published by, the Inter-American Economic and Social Council; and the bibliographical "Notes on Literature Available for the Study of Comparative Public Administration," by Fred W. Riggs, then of the PACH staff, which appeared in 48 *American Political Science Review* 515-37 (June, 1954).

party is translated into governmental policy and that into administrative action. Few could remember much of what had happened in 1933, and almost none had any recollection about the last previous transition from Democratic to Republican administrations in 1921.

The problem of political transition has been reemphasized in recent years by the series of transitions from one party to another in some of our major states. Yet there has been no published study about this process in any large jurisdiction. The Brookings Institution, however, recently began one pertaining to the national government. The second Hoover Commission and its Task Force on Personnel treated with one important aspect of it. Yet, as the nation approaches the possibility of another national transition, this field is little better equipped with theory, understanding, or pragmatic guidance than before.

Other examples which might be mentioned in this connection were the sudden burgeoning of a number of functional areas to which little attention had been given. Among the most important of these during the war and post-war period were the areas of economic management, military administration, and the administration of foreign affairs. To all of these some research effort has been dedicated, although much of it may have been too little and too late. There appears to have been a persistent avoidance of military matters by students of public administration since the times of Elihu Root, and this vacuum proved a costly one during the earlier part of the war. To this day, there appears to be a tendency among many in public administration to consider the military as something apart from their field, and this largest of all the areas of government is undoubtedly more influenced, and studied, by students in business administration than by those in public administration.

Finally, a number of other fields might be mentioned as examples in which the contributions have so far been less than spectacular, although in several of them studies are now under way or are projected: new dimensions of metropolitanism; state administration in general; public authorities; automation and its effects on management and personnel; administrative use of boards and committees. In those fields associated with behaviors, atti-

tudes, and communications of persons in administrative settings, there appears to be much interest but surprisingly little research contribution on the part of those in the field of public administration.

The Social Science Explosion and Administration

PARALLELING the rapid development of public administration has been the mushrooming of study in virtually all the contiguous areas of social interest. This may be thought for convenience, if not for strict accuracy, to have been touched off in the early thirties by the celebrated Hawthorne experiments, which set the fuse to activity in many of the so-called behavioral sciences; by the early experiments on groups of Kurt Lewin; by Keynesianism which stimulated the interest of economists in public and fiscal policy; by the discovery by sociologists of Max Weber and his concepts about bureaucracy; and by the rediscovery of politics in political science and even in public administration. Some of the older fields were revitalized with new interests, new insights, and new materials—like social psychology, welfare economics, industrial sociology, cultural anthropology, and the nonadministrative parts of political science. Other virtually new fields and subfields were born, such as applied anthropology, social psychiatry, cybernetics, econometrics, sociometry, and others. More significant, perhaps, was the rapid development of fields of interest which cut across disciplinary lines: leadership, the small group, communication, game theory, role theory, personality, and interactionism.

These phenomena are of importance in the consideration of public administration research for a variety of reasons. One is that they embodied a questioning and revision of earlier premises quite comparable to what was going on in the administrative field; they reflected a greater emphasis upon the study of behavior, on interpersonal relationships, and on organization in its generic sense. Their consequence has been a growth in both the depth and breadth of research interest.

Second, the other social sciences are converging with public administration in respect to interests, research materials, and purposes.

This has been demonstrated on the more superficial level by the volume of social science studies concerned with governmental programs and processes. Economists, for example, have been producing studies of fundamental importance having to do with public and administrative policy. The two most recent and significant general works on public budgeting—once almost exclusively the domain of public administration—were both written by economists.⁴

Some of the most ambitious studies of large-scale organization, including governmental organizations, have been produced by sociologists such as Selznick, Bendix, and Gouldner in the field of "bureaucracy." The applied anthropologists like Chapple, Whyte, Leighton, Arensberg, and others have concerned themselves with large organizations, and a few of their studies have had to do with government. This is true also of the Michigan Survey Research Center, dominantly oriented as it is to social psychology. Other examples of related interest might be mentioned in such fields as the study of the small group, conferences, and game theory.

The convergence of concerns is more significant, however, at the deeper level of value orientation and in the selection of research problems. The other social sciences in the past two decades have been increasingly concerned with social problems and action research, a focus not unlike that of administration. Furthermore, the human raw material is fundamentally the same. The findings, the insights, the hypotheses discovered elsewhere with regard to personality, motivation, learning, identification, group dynamics, strategy of action, and institutionalization should provide relevant and useful approaches for administrative understanding.

The Problem of Interdisciplinary Communication

IT WOULD appear not only desirable but necessary that those interested in public administration, whether as practitioners, teach-

ers, or students, keep themselves abreast of the relevant developments and thinking in these related fields. Yet it today seems to be a virtually impossible task unless one can afford to make a full-time job of it. Even then, it is pretty difficult. There have been a few monographs along these lines, and from time to time the *Public Administration Review* has published articles and reviews about pertinent developments and writing in other fields.⁵ A few years ago the Public Administration Clearing House issued a valuable report having to do with human relations research, and Public Administration Service published an annotated bibliography on the subject.⁶ These contributions have been useful but sporadic. There is now no systematic way for those in administration to keep abreast of relevant developments in other fields.

The communications difficulty goes in the other direction as well, and perhaps this loss is even more serious. Either through disdain or ignorance or perhaps some of both, the studies and writings in public administration seem to be conspicuously overlooked by students in these other fields, even when their object of attention is government. A good recent example was a book titled *Dynamics of Bureaucracy* by Peter M. Blau, a sociologist.⁷ The book itself is a good one, reflecting sensitive observation and insight. Concerned exclusively with the internal operations of two governmental field offices, one federal and one state, it is capped with a 3½ page bibliography, drawn almost entirely from sociology and the behavioral sciences. It includes four references which might be classed as works in public administration: Barnard's *Functions of the Executive*, Gulick's and Urwick's *Papers on the Science of Administration*, Dimock's

⁵ Such as Morton Grodzins, "Public Administration and the Science of Human Relations," XI, 88-102 (Spring, 1951), and Everett Reimer, "Magic and Science in Human Relations," XII, 200-209 (Summer, 1952).

⁶ The PACH report, *Human Relations in Public Administration: An Exploratory Report on Research Possibilities*, was prepared with the assistance of Morton M. Grodzins, and issued in mimeographed form in 1949. PAS published, the same year, an annotated bibliography, *Human Relations in Public Administration*, by Alfred de Grazia, prepared under the auspices of PACH with the cooperation of the Social Science Research Center, University of Minnesota.

⁷ University of Chicago Press, 1955.

⁴ Arthur Smithies, *The Budgetary Process in the United States* (McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1955), a Committee for Economic Development research study; and Jesse Burkhead, *Government Budgeting* (Wiley and Sons, 1956).

The Executive in Action, and Simon's *Administrative Behavior*. It may be noted that no one of these was written within the last decade, and there is rather little evidence in the text that these or any other materials about American government and administration greatly influenced the course of the study. The batting average here, .063, is relatively not too bad. It is 63 points higher than that of the reference list provided by Alexander H. Leighton in his *The Governing of Men*.⁸ Likewise, public administration failed to reach first base in the voluminous bibliography provided in the work edited by Margaret Mead on *Cultural Patterns and Technical Change*,⁹ though its subject matter might be considered a little more peripheral.

A more painful example was the compendium of a few years ago, ambitiously and perhaps mistakenly titled *The Policy Sciences*.¹⁰ One would think that the "policy sciences" could profit somewhat from political science, which may also be mistakenly titled, and from public administration. Yet this excellent collection of essays by seventeen different authors drew largely from the fields of sociology, anthropology, social psychology, and economics. The only contributions by political scientists or drawing from the study of politics were those by the editors, one of whom is now president of the American Political Science Association. None of the authors represented an administrative background or orientation.

Such illustrations might be multiplied, almost without end. A social psychologist recently remarked at his surprise and that of his fellows who had just completed an organizational study at the degree to which the behaviors they observed were in fact rational and purpose-oriented. One of the most gifted leaders of the applied anthropology school, William Foote Whyte, wrote a few years ago:

Such research would seem to take us into the area of research on principles of administration. Call it poaching if you will, but such an invasion is vitally needed. The alleged principles of administration

are a curious mixture of folklore and fact. The one I have cited—the "span of control"—is typical; it is a principle which holds under certain conditions, but the conditions are not specified. (*Italics his*)¹¹

If the span of control is "typical," it seems safe to say that the view of it taken by a good many administration students and practitioners has for years been more sophisticated than is suggested in the quotation. In fact, this was probably true well before Herbert A. Simon delivered his celebrated blast at the "span" and other "Proverbs of Administration"¹² in 1946.

It is clear that students of public administration are not making a very large contribution to, or exercising very much influence upon, thought and research in the other social sciences. This is probably owing in part to the intellectual isolationism and parochialism of the various disciplines themselves—a difficulty to which the political and administrative fields are not immune. It is the result also in part of a failure to communicate outward. The field has not advertised very well. A striking demonstration is offered by the American Society of Applied Anthropology. In a lead editorial in its journal, *Human Organization*, in 1953, it bravely proclaimed itself "... the only society in existence whose primary concern is the study of organization problems," and deplored the fact that "... too little has been done in re-establishing these relationships (among anthropologists, sociologists, and students of political and business administration) now that applied anthropology has emerged as the full-fledged science of organization."¹³ Yet the journal itself had not contributed conspicuously to such a goal. It had discontinued two years earlier a service of providing annotations in each issue of articles from other journals pertinent to its field of interest—i.e., to human organization. Among the more than forty magazines it examined for this purpose, none were from the field of public administration, none

⁸ "Small Groups and Large Organizations" in *Social Psychology at the Crossroads*, John H. Rohrer and Muzafer Sherif, eds. (Harper and Brothers, 1951), p. 311.

⁹ *Public Administration Review* 53-67 (Winter, 1946).

¹² *Human Organization* 3-4 (Spring, 1953). The title of the editorial was "The Challenge of the Science of Organization."

⁸ Princeton University Press, 1946.

⁹ For UNESCO, reprinted as a Mentor Book, The New American Library, 1955.

¹⁰ Daniel Lerner and Harold D. Lasswell, eds. (Stanford University Press, 1951).

from political science, and only three from business administration.

The Potential of Interdisciplinary Effort

THE problem is not one of communication alone. There is a real question, usually implicit but sometimes explicit as in the Whyte quotation above, as to whether public administration has anything to offer. This question deserves much thoughtful introspection, a self-analysis which goes beyond the limits and capabilities of this paper. But a few general observations may be hazarded. The field has not channeled its research efforts; its scope of interest seems unlimited; it has not developed a rigorous methodology; it has been pretty blasé about definitions; it has not agreed on any paradigms or theorems or theoretical systems; it has not settled on any stylized jargon or symbols; with a very few experimental exceptions, the field has not been modeled or mathematized into an "adminimetrics." Indeed, some of these features may be advantages at the present state of development. But they also probably deprive some of the research products of academic "respectability" and scientific elegance in the eyes of the more methodologically disciplined.

On the other hand, it would appear that public administration does—or can—offer a good deal to the other social sciences. Perhaps it would be fairer to say that the several sides might all gain by a greater degree of cross-filtration and interaction. In the first place, there is here a tremendous body of experience, acquaintance, and data that could provide raw material for studies in all the social sciences. In the second place, there is here a wealth of ideas and insights, and many of these are more directly and realistically related to the phenomena of our times than those found in many of the social fields. To be sure, an orderly body of knowledge must be composed of more than a bundle of insights, but insights are a pretty necessary prerequisite to the construction and testing of useful formulations. In this respect public administration is rich, and some of its sister fields seem relatively impoverished.

There is here also an embarrassing wealth of problems and of research subject matter. There are groups of all kinds, organizations of

all kinds, interactions of all kinds, strategy problems of all kinds, as well, of course, as all the problems of public policy. Experimenters in the various behavioral sciences speak of three categories of studies: those in the "real world," which a good many of them deplore because all the variables are not controllable; those in the "quasi-real world," where, generally, the subjects are deceived into thinking they are in the real world although they are not; and those in the laboratory—the rat-in-the-maze type which might be called, by the same logic of nomenclature, "out of this world."

Most of the public administration studies have fallen in the first category; most of those of the other behavioral disciplines have been in the latter two. The former could probably be richer and better directed if they were seasoned with the latter, and vice versa. Students of administration can sense in the real world things that might fruitfully be tested "out of this world," and they might observe the applicability of things hypothesized "out of this world" in the real world. More than this, they have better access to opportunities and field settings for fruitful research, and there is need for assessing the applicability of the social science hypotheses. For example, a large number of behavioral students have concentrated for years on the behaviors and dynamics of the small group. It would be useful for the "groupsters" as well as for the rest of us to appraise the extent to which administrative organizations actually operate through small groups, what the "real world" structure and relationships of groups are. What is the "group" organization of the Commerce Department? An inventory of the actual communications networks, formal and informal, in a sample of operating departments and agencies might contribute greatly both to understanding and to future research about communication.

There are some conceptual dimensions which public administration can contribute to many of the other social sciences. One is the central, overriding element of *public purpose* in administration—an element which is often systematically obliterated or simply assumed and dismissed in behavioral research. Related to it is another: the element of *responsibility*, individual and organizational, as an important

conditioner of behavior in an organization. A third factor is *pluralism*, political and social, a matter which has increasingly impressed students of public administration. The variety of pressures, forces, and interests which focus on administrative decision and activity at the same time seems to be the essence of the process, not an element which can be ruled out indiscriminately. The simplicity of hierarchical structure, so often the backdrop for laboratory experiment, or the imposing monolith of bureaucracy, transplanted from Weber's view of Prussianism to the American scene, can hardly provide more than an inadequate and distorted view of the real content of American public administration.

This third factor is really a part of a fourth—the overwhelming fact of *complexity* in public administration. There is a tendency in scientific study to *reduce*—to eliminate most of the variables, to bring things down to a level where they can be systematically grappled with. This is necessary, but it requires careful selection of variables and the greatest caution in generalizing from findings. An organization cannot be understood as a cluster of autonomous face-to-face groups, any more than a group can be understood as a cluster of autonomous individuals—or a mind as a cluster of cells in a brain. Studies relevant to government administration must ever be aimed at research problems so stated as to contribute to understanding of decision and management in an environment of complexity. It is not likely that for a very long time social science will provide satisfactory and complete answers, and a great deal of the theory in this field will continue to be phrased in concepts which are not operational for research in the sense in which the term was used by Bridgman. But administration, and particularly that part of it known as public, can help, and collaborate with, social research in continuous striving toward the understanding of complex reality.

The Current Prospect

IS THERE a "field" of public administration, or, in the academician's glossary, is there such a "discipline"? If so, what is its scope, its rubric, its method? I am not sure that either question can be answered. Public administra-

tion has a genetic, still a logical, and in most academic places an organizational relationship to political science.³⁴ It is also vaguely and sometimes intimately related to business administration. It has cross-interests with virtually all the other social sciences, some of which have already been discussed. Public administration cannot demark any subcontinent as its exclusive province—unless it consists of such mundane matters as classifying budget expenditures, drawing organization charts, and mapping procedures. In fact, it would appear that any definition of this field would be either so encompassing as to call forth the wrath or ridicule of others, or so limiting as to stultify its own disciples. Perhaps it is best that it not be defined. It is more an area of interest than a discipline, more a focus than a separate science. Like administration itself, the study of administration must employ a variety of methods and approaches. It is necessarily cross-disciplinary. The overlapping and vague boundaries should be viewed as a resource, even though they are irritating to some with orderly minds. But this suggests also that to an unusual degree the students in this field must be equipped to communicate and to work with others who are interested in aspects of the same things.

Success in this regard has been pretty spotty. Since the war, while interdisciplinary effort became the fad if not the general rule, students and practitioners of public administration have not contributed as much as they might, even when the immediate object of attention was governmental administration. Some of their research has reflected awareness of other approaches, but much of it has not. The field has apparently lost ground with many of the organizations that are sponsoring or conducting research—some of the foundations, and groups like the Office of Naval Research, the Survey Research Center at Michigan, and the RAND Corporation. Some of these organizations appear to have been groping, with only sporadic guidance from a few of the thought-

³⁴ A thoughtful discussion of this relationship, as well as of the development of public administration generally, is contained in Roscoe C. Martin, "Political Science and Public Administration: A Note on the State of the Union," 45 *American Political Science Review* 660-76 (September, 1952).

ful members of the profession. In spite of these noteworthy individual exceptions, the profession has not demonstrated much initiative or aggressiveness or leadership in planning and guiding research efforts.

In summary, research in public administration in recent years has fallen short of its potential effectiveness because:

1. There has not been enough research performed; the stimulus for research effort has been insufficient; and research output is falling behind the needs.
2. There has been insufficient planning, direction, and channeling of research efforts; areas of crucial concern have been neglected.
3. There has been insufficient communication within the field with the result that few know what others are doing; and the outlets for research products are inadequate.
4. There is inadequate communication between this field and related fields of the social sciences in either direction; there is inadequate collaboration, cooperation, and interaction among them.

Offsetting these deficiencies, the field of public administration has unique advantages for the development of a broad-gauged program of research. Among its devotees are a substantial number of administrative practitioners in a good position to see problems, to visualize research possibilities, to translate significant findings into action. It also includes a substantial array of academicians in positions to muster research talent and to keep up with the conceptual advances of other fields. The American Society for Public Administration has its feet planted firmly in both meadows—to a greater extent in the operative area than almost any other academic professional organization, and to a greater extent in the academic field than almost any of the associations of professional practitioners. Further, it includes many academicians who have served in administrative posts and many practitioners who have a very genuine professional interest. The amount of cross-filtration is substantial and can be a real advantage.

Suggestions

IN THE first place, it would seem desirable for the American Society for Public Adminis-

tration as an organization to pursue, in substance as well as letter, the advancement of knowledge as one of its primary objectives. Such an objective could be given meaning in the programs of the national organization and of the chapters. One aspect of it could be the dedication of a higher proportion of conference sessions to research reports and discussions on them.

As a service to its membership as well as to other persons or organizations, the society might establish and maintain a clearing house on research of interest to public administration, including that carried on in other fields. This would probably call for permanent staff to conduct visits and to provide continuing contacts with individuals and institutions carrying on such research.

The society could contribute greatly by providing for the publication and dissemination of significant research reports that are not otherwise published or that reach only limited audiences. Such an undertaking might involve publication of substantial monographs and also a periodic volume of smaller research studies or summaries on an annual and perhaps more frequent basis.

Most desirable of all would be the establishment of a new committee on public administration research to assess, on a continuing basis, research status and needs and to stimulate and advise on some of the major research proposals for the future. This committee might even sponsor and support some principal undertakings, as did its predecessor in the late thirties and early forties. Such a committee might properly include representatives of the campuses including some from other fields, leaders from government agencies, and leaders from other organizations that are concerned with public administration. Under whatever auspices it were set up, the ASPA might appropriately contribute to its founding and continuing operations. At the very least, such a committee could provide a vehicle for the articulation of problems, developments, and ideas. At best, it could help to channel some of our efforts into the most promising and challenging areas.

A Look at Some Administrative Problems

By RAY LAPPEGAARD

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IN ORDER to do my best to maintain a community of interest, I have assumed that there is no particular interest in a recital of the various dimensions of the Minnesota Department of Public Welfare, but that there is particular interest in the principles, concepts, techniques, methods—in short, the way in which we meet our administrative problems—since these things are very likely similar to those you experience.

Now, I think it is only fair to get our nomenclature straight. When I say "institution," that means the equivalent of a field office; when I say "we," it usually means the Department of Public Welfare; and when I say "I," it means no one else is to blame.

In order to apply our experience to the topic at hand, you should know that Minnesota's Department of Welfare consists of a central office, located in St. Paul, with a staff of some 325 employees, organized into six divisions. These divisions are Corrections, Child Welfare, Public Assistance, Medical Services, Field Services, and Administrative Services. Channeled through their appropriate divisions is responsibility for eight mental hospitals, two institutions for the mentally deficient, three special schools, a tuberculosis sanatorium, a hospital for crippled children, three correctional institutions, and a small child-care institution. These facilities employ slightly more than 5,000 persons. In addition, the central office exercises supervision over the 87 county welfare boards who are administering the various welfare programs—for example, old age assistance and aid to dependent children. From this, you can see that we are easily beset with

the many problems that can bedevil a rather wide-flung organization.

Since there are many specific items on which we can quite easily have disagreement among the various members of our department, it behooves us to avoid mechanical difficulties which will lead us into disagreements on matters where there is actually no real conflict. This points up the need for good communications between the units within our department and principally between the central office and the institutions.

I

SINCE the techniques of communication are detailed in several texts, I'll content myself with mentioning only the highlights of this matter of communication. It is important to let the proper persons know the news first. Few experiences are more devastating to the central office administrator than to learn from the afternoon paper that the roof has blown off one of the institutions under his charge. Likewise, few embarrassments exceed that of the institution superintendent who first learns of a sweeping change in policy when he is asked to comment on it by one of his employees.

Knowledge of and information about the objectives of the organization must be given to employees if teamwork is to be obtained. Not too long ago I heard a report from the Industrial Relations Center of the University of Minnesota telling of the findings of a study of how the chief executives of large corporations spend their time. Something in excess of 50 per cent is spent on matters under the general heading of personnel. Further to emphasize the need to communicate with employees we can recall Chester Barnard saying that an individual will accept an order when (1) he understands it, (2) he thinks it is consistent with the

NOTE: This paper was an address to the Minnesota Chapter, American Society for Public Administration, December 14, 1955.

purposes of the enterprise, (3) he believes it compatible with his personal interests, and (4) he is able mentally and physically to comply with it. Except for the last, these are conditions that can be influenced by good communication or lack of it. To make communication more effective, say the same thing in more than one way. There are many techniques available to the administrator and all are valuable in certain situations.

I recall from my Army service that the basic principle of Army communication is that the higher headquarters establishes its lines of communication to the next lower level of command. It would seem to me that this is a very sound principle to apply to almost any organization—the higher level of authority having responsibility for establishing the lines of communication to the lower level.

Within our department, we use the usual methods of communication. Some of them are of the more "modern" type. We have a very detailed operating manual, covering the administration of our welfare programs, which is furnished to county welfare agencies. We have an institutions operating manual with sections devoted to each of the specialties involved. Both of these manuals are in a continual state of review and revision to keep them current. A weekly bulletin going to all key personnel within the department and carrying news of recent events proves helpful in keeping everyone aware of what is going on in the other parts of the organization. Unfortunately, we do not have a publication going to every employee on a regular continuing basis. And, of course, we have a multiplicity of forms to carry essential but routine information back and forth in an effort to make the job as simple as possible. Telegrams and the telephone are used, depending on the nature of the situation. A special emissary at times carries the word, and occasionally the commissioner, himself, on the one hand, or the superintendent, himself, on the other, will make the journey to be sure that each side has a thorough understanding of the other's position.

And yet we do have our share of misunderstandings and confusion. In large part they are caused by the almost universal inability to understand the written and spoken word. In May,

1955, Mr. Lyndall Urwick, speaking to this group, pointed out, "that we shall never have a first-class system of administration in any human enterprise until people realize that records, though essential, are secondary. You must first have people who trust each other, meet each other, consult and act by word of mouth."¹ I am not sure we are always aware of this principle, but to bring out this mutual trust we do also hold numerous conferences, meetings, and so forth.

Now it is very appealing, sometimes, to criticize incessant conferences and meetings and other get-togethers to discuss and, hopefully, resolve certain problems. It is, I say, easy to criticize them, especially if the conferees are verbal and articulate social workers, as they are in our department. I have heard this is true also of educators. While certainly no advocate of meetings for meetings' sake, I sincerely believe that there are extremely few meetings which do not, so to speak, earn their keep. They are worth while inasmuch as they must at least acquaint those attending the meeting with one another. And almost always meetings go beyond that—they do achieve a measure of understanding.

It is also easy to criticize meetings because they do not reach conclusive statements of policy or purpose. But whether a conclusive statement can be formulated at a meeting is dependent upon the question being resolved and the level of operation we are discussing. A meeting of the appropriate supervisors, the personnel officer, and an employee representative can quite possibly hammer out a formal statement of shift schedules for psychiatric aides in a mental hospital. But to take another example, what do you do with an institution which has practically worked itself out of a job—such as the tuberculosis sanatoria throughout the state of Minnesota? Our department operates only one, but many others are faced with the same problem. You have on your hands an excellent physical plant, a large bed capacity, only half of which is being used, a trained and competent staff.

It is not enough merely to call together the commissioner of the Department of Public Welfare, the superintendent of the sanato-

¹"Experiences in Public Administration," 15 *Public Administration Review* 247 (Autumn, 1955).

rium, the department's medical director, and a few other interested individuals, because we're also discussing legislative matters. The question involves representatives of many other groups who would very much like to offer constructive suggestions for the use of these facilities. As a result, most of the meetings on a subject such as this are not conclusive. They are developmental in that they define and clearly show the fundamental issues involved and the major arguments put forth. In this way a great deal of time and effort is saved when the final decision is about to be made. The groundwork has been laid by the meetings and conferences that have been held. Hopefully, all those concerned may have achieved a unity of opinion as to the best possible solution and are united in recommending that it be taken. At the very least, the major proposals of opposing groups are laid bare so that the decision is far less complicated than it would be if you were to begin approaching the problem from the start.

From the point of view of the chief executive, I would like to hazard the opinion that his chief responsibility in the area of communication is to spend a majority of his time simply telling the rest of the organization what their job is. It's a difficult task at best to define clearly the objectives your department is trying to achieve, especially if you are engaged in the operation of a subordinate unit within that department. Telling the members of the organization *what* to do and *why* they are doing it is vital to insure that the efforts of all are continually pointing in the right direction. The chief executive should not be telling his people *how* to do the job. If they don't know how to do it, he needs some new people about him.

II

WE HAVE been, and are now engaged in, "decentralizing" as much as possible within the Department of Public Welfare. By this we mean the usual type of thing: having decisions made at the lowest possible level, relinquishing all the authority and responsibility possible from the central office to the institutions—in short, maximizing the delegation of authority and responsibility for the administration of the programs within the depart-

ment. While I don't recall that the objectives to be achieved by decentralizing have been written down (and the somewhat fancy language with which I will try to describe them may surprise some of our staff members), it seems to me that the ends we hope to achieve by this process, or perhaps more accurately the purposes served by decentralization, are:

1. It focuses the attention of the institution personnel on their performance and their results.

2. It should result in drawing out from cover the sometimes unpleasant or critical facts regarding institution operations, since the institution people, possessing authority to deal with these matters, will acknowledge responsibility, rather than provide somewhat doctored reports to reflect a favorable picture to the higher authority.

3. It insures that we are able to administer on the basis of objectives. Generally the institution head knows better than anyone else how well he is doing, and whether or not he is making real progress toward the commonly agreed upon and officially adopted objectives.

4. While I know of no proof, it seems reasonable to assume that it is a better way of doing business and thus provides better service to the people.

Occasionally this whole process has been called a decentralization of decision-making with a greater centralization of evaluating controls, and I suppose this is essentially what we have in mind.

I think the one basic principle, if I were to choose simply one, that I would urge for immediate adoption and widespread application would be something that could be described as the principle of giving a man a job, leaving him alone to do it, checking on his results and, if they are satisfactory, giving him a pat on the back—preferably by raising his salary. And if the results are not satisfactory, get him out and get another man. That's sort of lengthy, but we could put it in a little more academic language and say we should allow wide latitude for independent action with review of results obtained and consequent accountability.

To me this really is a cornerstone of any attempt to bring about an improved administrative job. While one can find no individuals who will disagree with this rather glittering

generality type of principle, those same individuals (and myself included) have a difficult time putting it into practice. When it comes to giving responsibility and consequent authority for some particular action, it is all too common that a corresponding requirement is attached for rather detailed, sometimes voluminous, reports requiring approval before the action taken is effective, or providing a review of such immediacy that it in effect means approval must be obtained before action is taken. Of course, these two ideas are just not compatible at all. We must, in short, admit that if we want true delegation, we also must be willing to accept the fact that the person to whom we have delegated may very well fail on the particular job. One could develop an interesting dissertation on the executive's right to fail. In fact, I believe it is the subject of a paper, although I have not personally read it.

Along with mentioning this operating principle of getting a good man to do a job and letting him do it, I must add that I am, of course, aware that there is a shortage of trained, qualified, capable individuals to do the jobs that so desperately need doing—men who can have authority and responsibility delegated to them and carry it out in a satisfactory manner. I am not alone in recognizing that a problem exists in this area. I would like to quote from a fellow public administrator who is aware of this problem. He says, in writing to his boss, "I am bound to admit that the present state of affairs is of such a character that even though your Majesty should desire to reform the administration, it would be practically impossible to do so. . . . My reason for saying that the realization of your object is impossible is that there is an insufficient number of capable men to help you. . . . To my mind the greatest need of the time is the securing of capable officials. . . . a proper method should be devised whereby such men can be trained, maintained, selected and appointed." This was written by Wang An Shih, who wanted to bring about reforms in the public service of China. He wrote it to his emperor in 1058 A.D.

III

I AM doing my best to refrain from that most appealing of statements in a discussion of

public administration, namely, this is an area deserving of further study and analysis. However, I am going to break my rule at this point and say that an area deserving of further study is that of tailoring jobs to fit human individuals. I don't mean specific individuals. Peter Drucker, in his book *The Practice of Management*, stated that the production assembly line should be archaic because almost all the operations human beings perform on the assembly line can be, and should be, performed by machines. His main point, I believe, was to sound a note of caution against the rather barren concept that we simply describe the tasks and functions which will make up an individual position and then set about finding the person whose talents and abilities fit this particular job. I am inclined to think that we do have certain jobs established which just don't fit human nature as ideally as we should like. Specifically, I have in mind the traditional concept of the staff job.

There must be something inherently frustrating in staff positions—I am sure there is. They are by nature distinctly removed from the actual operation and we all know how our fingers itch to play the cards of the fellow whose shoulder we are looking over, especially since it's his money that's up for contention. At any rate, it does happen that the staff man, knowing a lot about the operation, especially with regard to his specialty, will have a good idea that he would like to suggest—just an idea, you understand, but it's his and there are fewer things more holy than one's ideas. Now maybe the idea is good and maybe the operating individual, taking good ideas where he finds them, puts it into effect. There staff and line relationships are solid. There is no strain. But somewhere along the line, maybe one of the ideas submitted by the staff man won't quite agree with the operating administrator's plans. Things can get touchy here. The administrator has to explain why the idea isn't quite the thing. If the relationship is sound, it can take a little strain. The operating department man will point out that, well sort of point out that, running the place is his business, you know, and primarily the staff man is there to advise on the conduct of psychological examinations, how to run a farm, or how to classify jobs, audit some accounts, make a

study of some sort. The astute operating administrator will, of course, know what the staff man's purpose is. But at any rate, the relationship holds up and everything goes along fine.

But this can repeat itself from time to time and the resulting irritation doesn't always disappear. If both parties are high minded and reasonably objective, they will recognize the value of giving a little credit to the other person's views, even though they may be imperfectly understood. But maybe they are more human than that. A few repetitions of the above situation and conflict develops—you have a sort of pursed lips and raised eyebrows view of things by the staff man and a subtle but genuine feeling on the part of the operating man that his proposals get a little too stiff workout by the staff man. What's happened to the fine concepts on which the staff man's job was founded? Both sides pick up these concepts, or principles as we usually call them, and use them to club the other fellow over the head. It's truly amazing how ambidextrous a principle can be sometimes—the closer you look at it and the more you consider the several views of it, the more you come to learn that it really isn't the principle so much as the interpretation of it that counts. And if you really investigate the whole situation, you will find out how little you know about principles, because they can be used both for offense and for defense, and correctly too. Just ask both sides and you'll find out.

Well, anyway, in this instance, the relationship has really suffered. It's become weakened. It doesn't have the strength it must have for wholehearted progress. What's the cause? Perhaps it's the principles on which our structure is founded. Certainly it's in great part the attitude of the people involved—judging the other fellow only by what you see of him; judging the other fellow in light of the particularly egregious error he once made rather than the whole of his operations. And occasionally, if things really get bad, it is assuming that the other man doesn't have your own pure motives at heart. And when this happens everybody starts going on record and standing firm, showing his basic authority and interpreting, interpreting, interpreting. Laws, principles, rules, regulations, policies, everything is interpreted—and even though they're all written in

the same language, there are more kinds of interpretation than you ever thought possible. We can take a sort of disorderly pride in the wealth and variety of interpreting people can do. Usually it ends by somebody so high up that everyone listens to him telling everybody to please sit down and "stop rocking the boat." Well, my point is that the staff job may not be tailored to fit human nature. Perhaps it would be wise to work in, somehow, at least a minimum of line authority into our staff jobs.

Staff agencies naturally have a considerable impact on all departments with which they are connected and I think an even greater impact on the decentralized, widely separated organization of the type we are concerned with here. For one thing, communication poses an especially vexing problem. The staff agency, in the interest of getting to the source itself for its information in order that it can best understand the situation, would like to go directly to subordinate units within the parent organization. Obviously, a relationship between the over-all department and the staff department (in our case the Department of Administration and the Department of Civil Service) that would permit complete acceptance and understanding on the part of all concerned would be desirable. But those in staff departments as well as those in subordinate units must recognize that the central office has a legitimate stake in what transpires anywhere within the organization and take care to inform the central office of what is going on. It is quite possible that what should essentially be a two-way controversy, if controversy develops, between the staff agency and the operating department, can easily become a three-way controversy among the staff agency, the subordinate unit, and the central office. Staff agencies do themselves a service by taking pains to recognize the preeminence of the central office in matters concerning any part of the organization over which the central office has authority and for which it has responsibility.

Speaking of the operations of staff departments, I cannot help adding that they have a great responsibility to define clearly their functions and the objectives they are striving to achieve. Our Department of Administration and Department of Civil Service have a service function to perform which is very valuable to

the operating department. But they also have as a part of their make-up a control function, and I am most concerned that they clearly describe what their controls are designed to do. In this connection, personnel in staff departments must, I think, be self limiting in the exercise of the authority they have over operating departments.

Naturally, raising this problem invites me to accept a responsibility for solving it, which I am happily able to do. It would be a simple matter to resolve if the staff departments would adopt as an operating principle the automatic approval of new proposals from operating departments unless it can be shown that these new proposals are wrong from the point of view of violation of basic principles of the functional field in which the staff department operates or violation of the law which they must administer.

I recognize, too, that the staff departments have their problems and I know from personal experience that many people in staff departments would like to emphasize their service role to a far greater degree than their control function. To this end, I think operating department personnel should vigorously demand that these helpful services be available. These services will be more likely to be forthcoming if the staff department has the staff and budget to provide them, and vigorous requests for help from the operating departments will aid the staff department in obtaining the means needed to render the services.

At this point I would like to tell a story which I think illustrates an aspect of administration that oftentimes needs illuminating. The story concerns the farmer who operated a large chicken farm. In perusing the journals of his business, he came across an advertisement which very effusively stated that a device was available at very low cost that was guaranteed to increase the production of eggs. The farmer, intrigued by the ad, decided to risk the small amount called for and sent for this gimmick that would improve the egg production of his flock. Eventually it came. He received a large box, opened it, and removed therefrom a parrot and a book of instructions. Following the instructions, he took the parrot to the henhouse at sundown, placed it inside, closed the door, and went back to his house

and to bed. In the morning he went to retrieve the parrot and also to look over the egg situation and he just had never seen so many eggs before—it was amazing. He thought about it during the day and wondered whether this phenomenon would repeat itself. The following night he placed the parrot in the chickenhouse at sundown and let him remain there that night. The next morning, the same thing—the production was just overwhelming.

The third night the farmer placed the parrot in the henhouse, but this time he just couldn't help but eavesdrop. He peered in through the window and saw the hens all lined up on their roosts and the parrot perched on a roost before them, shouting in his rather raucous voice, "Lay more eggs, lay more eggs," and the hens were laying more eggs, as was indicated in the terrific increase in egg production.

On the fourth night, following the usual procedure, he placed the parrot in the henhouse, but not long thereafter he was awakened by a tremendous outbreak of noise from the henhouse. He made his way there and looking in the window he saw all the hens on one side of the henhouse cackling to themselves and jostling about. On the other side, backed into a corner was the parrot, almost every feather stripped from his body. Facing him in a semi-circle were the roosters, obviously bent on the parrot's destruction. Thinking to rescue the parrot, the farmer opened the door just in time to hear the parrot say in rather despairing tones, "But gentlemen, gentlemen, I am here only in a staff capacity."

IV

I AM concerned also with a movement that seems to be afoot today, sort of a campaign about wholes. Spelled w-h-o-l-e-s. In our department, this takes the form of a relatively innocent request on the part of an institution to make some change in its method of operations, perhaps in the schedule on which its house parents will work and how it intends to compensate for the time an employee must remain in the particular cottage at night, even though he is not actively on duty. This request is received in the central office for approval.

The personnel director immediately—and I previously served in this capacity and did exactly this—the personnel director immediately asks, "Well, what will be done in other institutions? We must think of the whole department in a matter of this sort." As a result, not long after submitting this rather simple idea, the superintendent of the particular institution receives an invitation to join with several others to discuss a problem of concern to the whole department, namely, staffing schedules. And sometimes, communications not being what they should, this may be the first reaction the originator of the request receives to his proposal.

Now I am not sure I picked the right example, but I am sure that examples will occur to you of what I am getting at—namely that individual units within the organization must be allowed some opportunity for experimentation, for individual change which they feel is necessary, without being tied into a whole picture which becomes almost completely unwieldy. To be so wound up with concern for the whole operation that he cannot execute individual actions which are advantageous can lead the central office executive to a state of immobility. If what should be a relatively small problem, for which a solution can be provided, is continually related to a larger one, it becomes part of this larger problem—which often becomes so large that it cannot be handled at all, since by that time it requires a "policy decision" or involves costs that are astronomical. Then the whole thing is finally laid to rest and respectful glances are cast and sorrowful comments are made by those gathered around the defunct form.

This philosophy of operation cannot be carried on, in a practical sense, without doing serious damage to the subordinate units. Certainly, periodic reviews on a wholesale basis are sound and very much to be desired, and certain problems must be considered from the point of view of applying solutions to the entire department. But in between and beyond these periodic reviews, the primary job is the maintenance of on-going programs—and maintenance means correcting and solving individual problems as they arise, not postponing them until they become part of a problem so large

that pressure is generated to the point of explosiveness before action is taken.

What I am saying, then, is that in my opinion central office people must build a frame of mind which will accept individual differences among subordinate units. I think we should have one common objective within a common department and recognize that there is more than one road to that objective. And the road that may be perfectly fine for one organizational unit may not be for another.

The reason I feel this is so is that an organization is not simply the structure pictured on the organization chart. The operations of a particular superintendent differ in many significant respects from the operations of another superintendent because one had a different childhood from the other, they went to different schools, they have read different books, have heard different lectures, or, more elementarily, they have different functioning of their glands. The superintendent, as does any top man in an organization, sets the personality of that organization with his own personality. Some superintendents are rigid, formal, and extremely effective; some are casual, offhand, and extremely effective.

Here, central office people can benefit from the advice I so gratuitously gave to staff departments a short time ago, namely, that requests from subordinate units will be approved unless it can be shown that they are improper because they are poor administrative practice, poor personnel policy, poor accounting procedure, or are not in keeping with the objectives of the organization. Otherwise they should be approved. Also, some action should be taken on questions raised in any request within three days of its receipt.

Continual study and evaluation of the overall operation is essential. This is perhaps one of the chief functions of the central office since it cannot be done adequately on a department-wide basis by any other individual unit within the organization. The basis on which the evaluation will be made should be as clearly understood as possible, especially by the subordinate official whose operation is being evaluated. In addition, this evaluation should be a continuing or frequently recurring operation. Special studies and investigations, while required at

times, have serious disadvantages. For one thing, they are used so often that they are weakened simply because there are so many of them. In almost every instance it is impossible to prevent a reaction on the part of the individual in charge of the operation being investigated that any findings which indicate things should be done differently is critical of his operation and proves that he has been wrong these many years. Special studies should be approached with a great deal of caution and should not be made unless some meaningful results can reasonably be expected or unless the situation is such that an outside investigation is mandatory. We cannot be forever digging up the tree to see what is stunting it. I should add that the current self survey now in progress throughout state departments in Minnesota represents a significant departure from the usual study precisely because it is a *self* survey. Hopefully, it will overcome much of the inertia that the usual study runs into, in which the study report ends up in the files rather than on the executive's desk where it should be.

V

IF ASKED to indicate the important points in this discourse, I would list the following:

Be ever mindful of the importance of communications and don't be afraid to say the same thing more than once in different ways and by different names.

If at all possible, include some line authority in staff jobs. At a minimum, define the staff job as precisely as possible and give copies of the definitions to those the staff man works with.

Seriously consider the fact that the same objectives usually can be reached by differing methods. Uniform methods should only be insisted upon where they will be helpful and, of course, where

they are necessary to insure just treatment of employees and those receiving services.

Delegation of authority assumes that the risk of failure on the part of the person delegated to is outweighed by the gain to the agency in administrative competence.

Staff people should approve actions proposed by line people that do not conflict with administrative principle or with law.

Individual problems should be recognized as such and solved on an individual basis.

One rather sobering thought occurs and I will close on it, namely, that in discussing administration and particularly public administration, it is possible to justify a prejudiced position more easily than it should be. Experience ever has the last word, and a man with one year's experience repeated ten times usually speaks as loudly and is listened to as well as one who has steadily developed over the entire period. All of which may be unconscious effort on my part to compensate for the fact that I cannot yet claim ten years' experience, or so my Freudian friends would tell me. I am a Gestaltist myself.

At any rate, this thought leads me to feel that too many of our discussions are similar to the one which took place between two ministers of different denominations. These learned gentlemen engaged in bitter and extremely vociferous debate about the relative merits of their individual persuasions. At the height of one of these verbal battles, one minister suddenly assumed a monumental calm, "Wait, wait," he said, "we shouldn't be arguing like this. We're intelligent men, well educated. It's shameful to be engaged in loud quarreling like this." The other agreed. Then the first went on, "Let us not argue any more. After all, we are both engaged in God's work. You in your way and I in His."

A Lesson in Cooperation

By PHILIP R. BERGER

Secretary and Chief Examiner

Alameda County Civil Service Commission

THE traveler arriving over San Francisco by air can look down from his plane on what appears to be one big city, radiating 30 miles or more from the central hub at the Golden Gate. Half a dozen bridges lace together the built-up areas on opposite sides of the bay. There is no indication that this is anything but a single, united community. If, however, the political boundaries which outline the many units of government in this same area could be made visible to our air traveler, he would see a crazy quilt of cities, counties, and special districts, with an overlay of federal and state activities covering everything.

In short, the San Francisco Bay Area is typical of many metropolitan regions where growth and movement of population and demand for governmental services have developed with no relation to a jurisdictional pattern laid out long before the present era and now virtually impossible to change.

Interestingly enough, the central city, San Francisco, has an extremely simple governmental structure. It is one of the few combined cities and counties in the United States, with a single legislative body and no duplication of local administrative functions. The sole public school district is coterminous with the city and county. No special districts or other contrivances have been required to bring a water supply 200 miles from the high Sierras, to operate a municipal transportation system, or to perform any other services within San Francisco itself. With a short ballot and many other enlightened features, the municipal charter is regarded generally as among the best to be found in American cities.

But San Francisco itself occupies only 49 square miles. This was believed to be ample

when the Legislature determined the boundaries not long after the gold rush days, but today, with an estimated population of 735,000, San Francisco is one of our most congested cities. Authority to alter the existing city limits no longer rests with the Legislature. California is unique among the states in the degree of home rule it permits its cities and counties. Without a constitutional amendment that would require a favorable vote of the people of the entire state, the boundaries of an existing city or county can be changed only by the vote of the people in both of the affected areas. No one thinks the voters of an adjoining county would agree to give San Francisco a slice of their territory, no matter how many metropolitan problems might be solved thereby. How far San Francisco and another county are from seeing eye to eye is indicated by the current dispute over the taxes on the San Francisco Municipal Airport, which is located in this nearby county, and which San Francisco officials contend, thus far unsuccessfully, are excessive.

Close to 2,000,000 people live around San Francisco, outside of the city proper. Here, within a radius of 35 miles of the center of the area, we find 4 counties, some 30 incorporated cities, and so many special districts that an accurate count is virtually impossible.

A limited amount of functional consolidation has developed, whereby the counties perform services for some of the cities. Thus, the county assessor and tax collector sometimes act also for one or more cities, and the county health officer also is a city health officer. Otherwise, almost the only answer to an areawide problem seems to be to form another district. Within the past year a metropolitan rapid transit district and an air pollution district

have been formed, adding still more to the layers of government and the confusion of the taxpayers.

I

IN REFRESHING contrast to a legalistic approach to metropolitan problems, a demonstration of cooperation in a limited field has been going on in the San Francisco Bay area for ten years. This purely voluntary effort has been gaining acceptance each year. Possibly a similar technique would be useful in other metropolitan areas and in other sectors of public administration. This is a cooperative pay survey which has succeeded in involving federal, state, and local agencies in a unified effort toward a common goal.

It is legally required, or it has become the policy, of most public agencies in California to pay their employees the so-called prevailing rate for their work. To determine the prevailing rate, it is necessary to find out what employers are paying—in other words, to conduct a survey. Immediately after World War II, several of the larger jurisdictions attempted such surveys in the San Francisco Bay Area. The city and county of San Francisco, the California State Personnel Board, and several of the local agencies canvassed the other public jurisdictions and the larger private employers. One data collector followed another, until many employers lost patience and announced that they would no longer give out pay information. The smaller jurisdictions, with limited personnel staffs, got no comparative pay information at all, since they lacked the manpower even to attempt a canvass.

An opportunity to do something constructive about this situation presented itself in 1947, when the city of Oakland entered into a contract with Public Administration Service to study a number of aspects of the city government, including the classification and pay structure. PAS was required to make pay recommendations in the spring of 1948.

To direct the Oakland survey, PAS picked a local resident with considerable public personnel experience.¹ Aware of the difficulties of

conducting a pay survey in the area, as well as of the needs of many of the jurisdictions, he called together representatives of the several cities and counties to see what might be done in a cooperative effort. The California State Personnel Board likewise participated in the exploratory session and gave its full support to the idea of cooperation.

The result was organization of the Bay Area Salary Survey Committee, with eight members. They included the State Personnel Board, the University of California (on behalf of its non-academic employees), the cities of Oakland, Berkeley, and Richmond, and the counties of Alameda, Contra Costa, and San Mateo. San Francisco found that it could not formally join this committee because of certain provisions of its charter, but it agreed to informal cooperation and kept in touch with the development of the cooperative survey.

The eight jurisdictions took advantage of the leadership offered by the Public Administration Service to launch the first cooperative pay survey in the Bay Area. BASSC, as the committee quickly became known, agreed on a list of 60 bench-mark positions found in all or most of the agencies and prepared descriptions of them. Preliminary contact by letter, followed by telephone calls where necessary, was made with the larger, more representative employers in the Bay Area. The plan of one survey in place of several made sense to most of them, and a total of 223 firms agreed to contribute salary information that first year.

The data were collected by personnel technicians lent by the participating agencies, supplemented by three graduate students from the University of California for whom the experience counted as part of a course credit. Public Administration Service edited and published the resulting report, which deserves to be considered a landmark in the much-discussed field of metropolitan government as a symbol of an effective application of the cooperative approach. The report listed and de-

Public Housing Administration. Subsequently he became a staff member of Public Administration Service, personnel consultant for the Civil Service Assembly, and employment superintendent of the San Francisco Naval Shipyard. Mr. Lohmeyer now is regional compensation officer for the San Francisco regional office of the Post Office Department.

¹ Charles R. Lohmeyer, prewar personnel officer of the city of Alameda, directed the survey. During the early part of World War II and immediately following service in the Navy, he was regional personnel officer for the

fined the 60 bench-mark jobs and gave, for salaries, the median, weighted average, mode, and interquartile range for each job.

Not the least of the tasks of the 1948 survey committee was to sell itself to the employers of the area, who had come to resent the repeated requests for information to which they had been subjected. The committee was not entirely successful, a few firms declining to contribute data. A complication arose out of the necessity for San Francisco to collect pay information apart from the BASSC survey. No practical method had been found to overcome that city's charter limitations which compelled the independent survey. Fortunately, its survey was confined to employers within the city limits of San Francisco, and BASSC still could point out that even a reduction to two surveys was a desirable improvement over the many that had been conducted previously. With the passing years the number of noncooperating firms has dwindled, until today BASSC enjoys entree to virtually every employer of consequence, including a number who will contribute data only to this particular survey.

A noteworthy aspect of the original survey was that it involved no out-of-pocket cash cost to the participating agencies. Contributions took the form of manpower, or in the case of the city of Oakland, the reproduction and mailing of the questionnaires and final reports.

All of the participants in the first survey agreed that it filled a definite need and that it should be repeated in 1949, with certain refinements arising out of their first experience. Although assistance from Public Administration Service would not be available, since the contract with Oakland had been fulfilled, the member agencies felt that they could conduct a satisfactory survey if the right director could be found.

The California State Personnel Board undertook to supply the director and assigned a senior technician to the 1949 survey. Because of its belief in the merit of the cooperative idea, as well as in the advantage of the joint survey to its own program, the State Personnel Board has continued to provide the survey leadership in most of the succeeding years. In two years other jurisdictions have supplied the director. However, for all practical purposes, the director has been the employee of BASSC

during each survey period and there has never been any suggestion of domination of the group by one or a few jurisdictions. The smallest jurisdiction has an equal voice and vote on the committee with the largest, and the present shape of the survey is largely due to the desires expressed by the smaller members.

Building on the 1948 experience, certain changes were made in the survey procedure the following year. A few changes also were made in the list of bench-mark jobs and their descriptions. Two new jurisdictions joined the group—the Oakland Public Schools and the East Bay Municipal Utility District. The latter was created to provide a water supply for some of the cities on the east side of San Francisco Bay. Its boundaries ignore city and county lines, typifying the pragmatic solution that has had to be found for many of the needs of the metropolitan area.

A further important forward step was taken in 1949 when the regional office of the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics and the headquarters of the California State Division of Labor Statistics became consultants to the survey committee. Their expert advice on statistical procedures led to a few changes in the use and reporting of the data. The state division put the data on punch cards and prepared tabulations, making more detailed and versatile information available to all participants.

The state division had legal authority to keep salary information confidential. By making it the custodian of the survey records, BASSC was able to guarantee to all contributors that all information it secured would be kept confidential. This proved very fortunate, as San Francisco found itself involved in a court case revolving around the same point.

In an effort to secure pay increases, a group of San Francisco municipal employees banded together and employed an attorney, who demanded access to original survey data, including the names of contributing employers and the figures they submitted. Many private employers are willing to contribute data on the strict condition that the information from their records be pooled in the general mass of figures and be not specifically identified with them. Such assurance had been given to the private employers by the city and county of San Francisco, and accordingly the demand of

the group of employees through their attorney was rejected.

Thereupon the matter was taken to court, and the court of primary jurisdiction determined that the records should be made public. At this point a number of employers asked to withdraw the data they had submitted and said they would not participate in future surveys if the decision stood. Other employers joined with San Francisco in appealing the decision, and ultimately the State Supreme Court overruled the lower court. While the litigation was in progress, legislation was enacted authorizing the State Personnel Board to keep this type of information confidential, and the board became the custodian of the data in subsequent surveys.

Continuation of the Bay Area or any other survey thus hung by a tenuous thread until the principle that pay information may be kept confidential was securely established. Employers were glad to see the crisis successfully passed, as most of them had become convinced that the cooperative survey should be continued. Not only had it relieved them of the multiplicity of requests for information, but it had also become a useful tool to them in setting their own pay rates.

II

IN 1950 the survey took its present form. As part of a national project, the Bureau of Labor Statistics announced that it would conduct a community wage survey in the San Francisco-Oakland Metropolitan Area each year. The BLS immediately entered into discussions with the two-year-old Bay Area committee to see whether a single survey might be worked out to their mutual benefit.

Certain problems were apparent. The bureau was required to conform to a national pattern and was interested in data about many jobs not included in the BASSC list of benchmark positions. Likewise, BASSC checked on a number of positions not on the BLS list. Even the time of the bureau's survey had to be different from that which BASSC had been following.

On the other hand, it was important to avoid adding a new survey. The bureau could provide skilled data collectors and had the

benefit of long experience in this type of activity. Possibly most important of all, it had entree to the records of certain national firms whose local offices were not authorized to release pay information. Through the bureau this information now would be secured from the national headquarters of these companies, or instructions would be given the local offices to cooperate with the Bay Area survey.

When the list of jobs to be surveyed by the bureau was added to that of the Bay Area committee, the total number was increased substantially. Also, it now would be possible, and all agreed it was desirable, to canvass a larger number of employers.

While the bureau and the BASSC groups were working out their problems, the city and county of San Francisco approached the BLS with the proposal that BLS conduct San Francisco's survey among private employers. This proposal was aimed at minimizing the duplication of surveys; it also was intended to eliminate the question of making the data public, as the litigation referred to above was then in progress in the courts.

An acceptable contract was worked out between the bureau and San Francisco, which encouraged BASSC to join forces with the BLS also. Furthermore, instructions came to local federal agencies of the Department of Defense, the General Services Administration, the National Advisory Committee for Aeronautics, and the Bureau of the Mint to have the Bureau of Labor Statistics provide them with data on which to set their rates for so-called "blue-collar" jobs. These are the mechanical and trades jobs, as contrasted with those in the "white-collar" categories. Blue-collar rates are set in accordance with conditions prevailing in each locality.

So the Bureau of Labor Statistics became the coordinating agency for the Bay Area Salary Survey Committee, the city and county of San Francisco, and the several federal agencies required to gather local pay data. The informal cooperative setup which had begun in 1948 was thus greatly strengthened. Now all available data could be used for the benefit of all of the public agencies interested in making pay surveys in the San Francisco area.

Technicians from all of the agencies involved in the survey, federal, state, and local,

now work as a team under the over-all guidance of the regional office of the Bureau of Labor Statistics. Advice and assistance with statistical techniques and tabulations of the data, particularly for the Bay Area committee, continue to come from the State Division of Labor Statistics.

Included in the survey now are the positions required for the purposes of the Bureau of Labor Statistics, those of interest to the Department of Defense and other federal agencies, an additional list needed by San Francisco, and the group of approximately 60 key jobs used by the Bay Area Salary Survey Committee. Data on these now are collected from the 250 or so largest employers in the counties of San Francisco, Alameda, Contra Costa, and San Mateo. Consideration now is being given to adding one more county, Santa Clara, to the data-gathering area in recognition of the substantial growth of industry there in the past few years.

Early in the fall, data collectors of the Bureau of Labor Statistics and staff technicians from the various local and federal agencies meet for an intensive training program, after which they move into the field to get the desired information. As the data sheets come in, they are reviewed by representatives of the BLS, of San Francisco, and of the BASSC. Each prepares its own report, since the list of jobs reported on is not the same for each.

The bureau's data-gathering work is finished when the fall survey figures are all in, about the end of October. San Francisco makes spot checks of those jobs questioned at public hearings on pay proposals in January. BASSC makes a telephone re-check on all of its jobs each March, to determine whether there have been any important changes since October, since many of its members need salary data as of the spring rather than of the fall. This re-check was instituted as a means of cooperating with the general program of the BLS.

The reports issued by the three groups are not competitive; rather they supplement one another and provide employers with much more pay information than could otherwise be made available to them.

A steering committee representing all of the groups involved in this general effort meets periodically to review the preceding and plan

for the forthcoming survey. Little adjustment has been found necessary the past year or two, as most of the problems have been worked out to the satisfaction of all parties.

As from the beginning, the various jurisdictions make much of their contribution in manpower, since the success of the project depends on the skill of the data collectors and the editors who compile the reports. A few agencies now prefer to contribute cash, which serves to defray costs other than those represented by personal services.

The Bay Area Salary Survey Committee which started the program in 1948 had 8 members. Over the years it has increased until in 1956 it numbers 17; this figure does not include the federal agencies involved.

The total cost of the annual survey at the present time is divided about equally among the Bay Area Salary Survey Committee, the city and county of San Francisco, and the Bureau of Labor Statistics and cooperating federal agencies. If San Francisco were to do its survey alone it would not have to spend the entire amount that the survey costs, since it does not require all of the information that is collected; but it probably would have to spend close to twice what it now is spending. Similarly, the Bureau of Labor Statistics and the federal agencies are stretching their dollars almost double through this cooperative arrangement. The greatest bargain of all, however, is enjoyed by some of the small local jurisdictions, who share all the data for a very nominal contribution. Without the cooperative survey, many of these jurisdictions would be unable to secure reliable wage information beyond the report issued for employers by the Bureau of Labor Statistics on its own particular jobs.

With ten uninterrupted years behind it and fewer problems arising each year, the Bay Area Salary Survey seems destined for a long and useful life. It probably is unique in the degree to which it has achieved cooperation not only among the adjoining local governmental units, but also with state and federal agencies. Admittedly the field is limited in scope, but it may open a window on other areas in which needless duplication and competition might give way to cooperation that would be beneficial to all concerned.

After the Therblig—What?

By KAREL F. FICEK

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I

As you all know, we have had in the Division of Employment a formalized training program for examiners of methods and procedures since 1940. There will be some permanent appointments in these titles later on this year, so we plan to conduct our regular 100-hour course for examiners. As I was going over my notes last summer, it occurred to me that there was a common element in all administrative procedures which had been overlooked, and that led me to the formulation of the ten primary operational components which I want to lay before you today. These ten elements are, in the field of administrative procedure, the same sort of thing that the sixteen, or eighteen now, therbligs are in the field of motion study.

I think Gilbreth was on the same track when he invented the symbols, some of which we still use in charting procedures, like ○, o, □, and ▽. He had more symbols than these, depending on the character of the operation, but he had not tumbled on the common denominator.

In order to get you to see the relevance of this, I shall review briefly the lessons on procedure development which we give in our course. We tell our examiners that they must first explore the transaction for which a procedure is to be developed—and we use the word “transaction” strictly in accordance with the defini-

tion found in the interdepartmental glossary.¹ A transaction has seven dimensions:

1. The span of responsibility, that is, the carriers of responsibility involved; for example, when a claimant seeks a determination of his entitlement—we call that transaction a monetary determination—the carriers are the claimant, the industrial commissioner, the employer, and the state comptroller.

2. The complexity of the transaction, which is simply a question of what sources of information are needed and what use is to be made of them.

3. The frequency, both with respect to the individual “customer” and as to volume (per day or year).

4. The necessary degree of accuracy of performance, and here the question is whether a check on accuracy is built into the transaction, so to speak, or whether it must be supplied by administrative controls. We in the division are fortunate in that our basic transactions are self-checking; all we need is to make sure that the public is on notice to let us know if anything has gone wrong.

5. The timing—how long should it take to perform a single transaction? What does the public expect? And, again, what follow-up devices are inherent in the transaction? We do not need many tickler files in our division, because the applicant, the claimant, or the employer is the tickler—he comes and sees to it that we complete our transactions on time.

6. The effect of this transaction on other transactions.

NOTE: An address before the New York State Interdepartmental Committee on Methods and Procedures, October 10, 1955. For a description of work of the committee, see Samuel L. Kessler, “The New York State Interdepartmental Committee on Methods and Procedures, 1947-1956,” 16 *Public Administration Review* 90 (Spring, 1956).

¹ *Glossary of Administrative Terms*, Adopted for Uniform Usage by the New York State Interdepartmental Committee on Methods and Procedures, September 19, 1950, and January 10, 1955, 5 pp., multilithed.

7. The effect of *other* transactions on this transaction.

I am going through this exposition like an express train, because it is old stuff to most of you. But I shall slow down when I reach the new part.

II

So now we know the seven dimensions of a particular transaction, and we can visualize what operations will have to be performed. Then, for each operation, we ask the following seven questions:

1. In what volume?
2. Requiring what kind of skill (specialization)?
3. In what sequence (dovetailing) in regard to other operations?
4. With what assurance of accuracy (limits of tolerance, etc.), requiring what controls?
5. On what schedule?
- And, again,
6. Relying on what supporting operations?
7. Contributing to what other operations?

This review then leads us to consider the work stations which will have to be set up to carry out the procedure, and so, for each work station, we ask a variant of the seven questions again:

1. Which operations shall we assign to this work station?
2. To achieve what end products (standards)?
3. Through what method (pattern of work within the work station)?
4. Subject to what controls (supervision, inspection, output examination, etc.)?
5. To realize what measurable output per unit of time?
6. Relying on whom for input, and to what extent (as to quality, timing, etc.)?
7. Contributing to whose input?

And then, as you may recall, we come to the lesson where we combine these three concepts—the transaction, the operation, and the work station—and we ask a lot of questions under the heading “procedure.” I shall just mention a

few of them—again, in relation to the seven basic dimensions:

1. Who is responsible for what operations, how far can responsibility be subdivided because of:

- a. volume of operations,
- b. special skills required,
- c. controls (checking, etc.)?

2. For each work station, what are the sources of information, and how will that information be processed through:

- a. clerical tasks,
- b. discretionary actions,
- c. aids (equipment, machines, etc.),
- d. in what form (and that means *form*),
- e. in line with what standards of quality?

3. How shall we regulate—if we can—the volume of input:

- a. at the origin,
- b. through sequencing of operations,
- c. through balancing,
- d. through dispatching (batching, etc.)?

and how shall we promote output through:

- a. work patterns,
- b. operation sequence sheets, etc.?

4. What controls shall we provide:

- a. to facilitate utilization of the checks built into the transaction,
- b. through flow of work from station to station (counting input and output),
- c. through quality inspection,
- d. through supervision,
- e. through operating reports showing categories of output, exceptions, etc.?

5. What scheduling of operations must there be:

- a. to complete each transaction on time,
- b. to equalize work loads,
- c. to meet priorities,
- d. to fulfill production estimates,
- e. to obviate fractionalization of organizational units, etc.?

6. With what other procedures must we comply?

7. What other procedures can we modify?

III

IT WAS at this point that it became apparent that all the administrative operations, and all procedures, are made of one common me-

dium—*information*. That is all we ever do; we handle *information*. We may prescribe steps which belong to other technologies, for example, transportation or storage; but these are not operations in the sense in which the administrative procedure consists of operations (including \square — that is an operation too). And there are only ten elementals in this business of handling information, although I was tempted to add an eleventh. The ten are these:

1. Operation request information
2. Operation record information
3. Operation transfer information
4. Operation compare information
5. Operation sort information
6. Operation select information
7. Operation match information
8. Operation combine information
9. Operation analyze information
10. Operation synthesize information

I do not think I have to explain these concepts to you. If you just visualize all the procedures you have ever devised, you will see that this is it; and those of you who have had some training in the use of electronic computers will realize all of a sudden that this is exactly what the computers do with information, aside from the internal processes of storing information and moving it around.

With these ten elementals before us, we can begin to ask some really intelligent questions about administrative procedures.

1. Operation Request. Do we need this information at all? In what percentage of the cases? And, above all, in what *form*—and I mean *form*. Operating forms are the heart of our procedures. When we say “*in-form-ation*” that is where the accent is, if you will excuse the pun.

2. Operation Record. Can we do this only once (this leads us to the consideration of “common language” machines)? What aids to recording can we provide—terms of art, abbreviations, rubber stamps?

3. Operation Transfer. Can we eliminate it through the use of multiple purpose forms, interleaved carbon forms, etc., or can we facilitate it through master duplicators, photocopy machines, or what have you?

4. Operation Compare. What devices can

we prescribe in a procedure—visual reference panels, calendars, guide cards, templets? This operation really ranges around; at the one extreme, there may be a filing clerk comparing the number on a slip in her hand with the numbers on slips already in the file (and we provide guide cards to facilitate this comparison); at the other extreme, there is the Division of Examinations of the Department of Civil Service, which compares the information checked or entered by a candidate on an examination sheet with the master set of correct answers.

5. Operation Sort. Can we eliminate it? We saved 0.55 man-years this spring by renting an additional post office box. Can we facilitate it by numeric coding of subject matter of information? Can we do it more economically by accumulating the work load—and, if so, up to what optimum? Can we speed it up by the use of sorting racks, etc.? Operation Sort is a bane, even to the electronic computers. We should avoid it if we can; and it is avoided by the newest electronic computers, through the use of random-access devices.

6. Operation Select. Can we arrange matters so that this operation can be performed directly, without going through a time-consuming Operation Compare? Of course, this consideration is of no moment to an electronic computer—it will always “compare” first and then “select,” in no time at all. But it can be done directly, especially if the transaction is such that the “customer” does the selecting by bringing the needed information in. I was amused to find, when testing the ten elementals on the procedures of our Accounts Bureau, that Operation Select led all the rest; many procedures begin with the word “select.” There may be selections of information from among alternatives, or from storage; and when that storage is a file, the facilitating devices (guide cards, mechanized file cabinets, etc.) are immediately apparent.

7. Operation Match. How best to perform it? This is something more than mere mechanical collation (which is Operation Compare, and which mechanical collators do very well). Here we must make sure that a bit of information coming from some source meets with a complementary bit of information coming

from another source, and both may not arrive at the same time; and it may require some judgment to decide whether or not the bits match (tolerance limits, etc.). We provide suspense files and tickler files and follow-up operations to cope with the time element, and we then fall back on Operation Compare to test the results of Operation Match.

8. Operation Combine. How do we facilitate combining? There is a vast amount of lore on this subject, probably because of the influx of accountants and statisticians into our profession, with their knowledge of posting (to sheets or cards), peg boards, unit tickets, methods of "multiple selection" from input documents, machine registers, and all the mechanical devices which can add and multiply.

9. Operation Analyze. If we are dealing with numbers, the machines are still with us here, or we can prescribe slide rules and reference tables. But often our procedures provide for a more indefinite kind of analysis. How do we analyze conflicting evidence? Still, the procedure must provide guides even for this—precedent decisions, subsidiary routines, or, if everything else is wanting, the final directive: if in doubt, do this.

10. Operation Synthesize. Can the machines do this? Not yet (though some of them render a fair imitation). The difference between Operation Combine and Operation Synthesize is the difference between opening a valve and producing a mixture of air and natural gas (as on your kitchen stove) and converting that mixture into heat. This is where we reach the point of administrative decision. But even this is not outside the scope of an ordinary garden-variety procedure; in our division, we make literally millions of decisions every year, all in accordance with procedure. And we use all kinds of procedural devices to facilitate Operation Synthesize, from "interpretation cards" for nonmonetary determinations to "stock paragraphs" for correspondence with the public.

IV

BUT I think the chief value which we as systems people can derive from the ten elementals is in "looking for bugs." Everybody

knows that every new procedure is full of bugs which appear to the naked eye only after it has been installed. That is why we so often recommend dry runs and experimental tryouts. That is why, when we clear a new procedure, everybody is anxious to throw remote, improbable, and impossible exceptions at us—what if this, what if that? But now we have a frame of reference. If, when considering a procedural step, we ask ourselves: What *kind* of an operation is this? Which one of the ten elementals is involved here?, we can anticipate what can happen. The bugs are right there. Every elemental has its known share of them. And we must, in advance, make an appropriate procedural adjustment, or develop a subsidiary (exception) routine.

1. Request. We request information, but we do not get it. (The procedure must go on just the same,—the transaction must be performed—and, if possible, on time.)

2. Record. Our clerks record the information, but nobody can read what they have written.

3. Transfer. The operators copy the information, but erroneously.

4. Compare. The procedure calls for a simple comparison (e.g., signature on pay order against signature on master card) and the operation simply does not get performed. This is not a question of error. Operation Compare is an operation which human beings do not care to do (while the electronic computers just love it). It has been estimated that in one operation in our division this simple elemental does not get realized in the majority of the cases. I do not think that this is because of monotony. It just goes against the grain—one keeps comparing, and after a while one just fails to take notice. I think all comparing operations will have to be mechanized, eventually, one way or another; it is probably a misuse of manpower to impose this operation on human beings.

5. Sort. We want information to be sorted, and there is never enough time to do it. I think there is a vast unexplored field for research here, especially with reference to the sorting of nonnumeric information. But even when we code (first) to make the sort a numeric one, we do not know enough about how this should be done and how long it should take.

6. Select. The procedure says: Select! But "they" can't find it. And the procedure writer is to blame, and quite rightly so, if he forgot to specify what to do when the selection operation fails.

7. Match. So "they" try to match, but part of the information needed is missing. It may interest you to know that in our division we once improved a procedure very considerably by eliminating three matching operations and substituting four operations of a different character.

8. Combine. Combining information is tedious and time consuming. Here is where monotony really comes in. But some people thrive on this operation, especially where simple mechanical aids are provided; so this is a point at which work-station analysis is worth while.

9. Analyze. The only trouble with this operation is that most people can't think straight. Of course, systems are developed precisely for the purpose of minimizing the need for conscious thought, for analytical judgment, and for specialized knowledge (this, as some of you may remember, is Lesson Number 5 in our 100-hour course).

10. Synthesize. No matter how perfect a procedure (and its exception-subroutines) may be, and no matter how faithfully it is being followed by the operating personnel, when the point of decision is reached, it will invariably misfire in a significant percentage of cases. I suppose this is because the machines cannot do Operation Synthesize as yet, and human beings

are guided by intelligence (a fallible factor at best) rather than by instinct or by tropism. We should be fully prepared for this when we devise procedures and utilize the available expedients—100 per cent pre-audit or post-audit, limited delegation of authority (on the exceptions principle), or utilization of the checking mechanisms "built in" the transaction.

V

AND that is all the news I have for you. Incidentally, I spared you my agonizing appraisal of the possible eleventh elemental, which I finally rejected. This was Operation Erase Information. The electronic computers do this automatically as a previously used but no longer useful incoming tape moves under the writing head. For them, it is no operation at all. But, believe it or not, I found in our division manual a procedure which calls for the destruction of information, as if it never had existed. I don't think that is the normal course of events. After we have used and processed information, it normally goes into storage. Storage is not an "operation" in the procedural sense. After a period of storage, of course, the morticians take over the dead records, and when we write a records disposal procedure for them, we again tell them how to handle "information"—but not the one reflected in the records, which by that time belong properly to the technology of pulp making or to the technology of pyrotechnics.

A General Theory of Public Employment

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IN A recent issue of this journal, I wrote an essay titled "The Emerging Doctrine of Privilege in Public Employment."¹ The purpose of that article was to analyze the body of principle which regulates the relationship between the citizen and the government in public employment. Essentially, my thesis was that Justice Holmes's celebrated hyperbole that a policeman "has no constitutional right to be a policeman" has gradually been transformed into a legal and political dogma; and, as a result, not only does the public employee today have no independent rights in his employment, but his constitutional rights are being set aside by his employer, the state. I concluded by asserting that only by "the introduction of new principle, can the American public service be soundly based or can the civil servant be rescued from his status as a legal *homo munculus*."

In the present essay, I shall try to propose such "new principle." I shall try to suggest an alternative to the doctrine of privilege. To this end, I shall (1) specify the essential terms of the problem; (2) identify the relevant needs and resources of the parties to the employment relationship; (3) outline the basic features of the prescription; and (4) infer some specific rules of the new theory by applying its principles to actual fact situations. Finally, I shall present what may be some of the outstanding objections to this proposal and attempt to meet them.

Essential Terms of the Problem

SOCIAL relationships, to be systematic and enforceable, must be expressed in terms of definitive attributes which are held by the

¹ 15 *Public Administration Review* 77-88 (Spring, 1955).

parties to these relationships. At least five such attributes must be used in the formulation of a theory of the employment relationship. The terms and their meanings, as I shall use them, are as follows.²

By *right*, I mean an affirmative claim based in lawful authority.

By *duty*, I mean the correlative—not the opposite—of right. Thus, the rights possessed by one person or party do not beget for him corresponding duties; but they do beget duties for other persons. A duty, in other words, is an obligation which is based in the lawful authority of another's right.

I shall use *liberty* to denote the opposite of duty.³ Where no duty exists, a liberty exists. Thus, liberties are not rights, because they are

² These definitions are based primarily upon Hohfeld's system of jural analysis. The relations "no-right," "power," and "disability" are not defined, for they are implied by other terms. See Wesley N. Hohfeld, "Some Fundamental Legal Conceptions as Applied in Judicial Reasoning," 23 *Yale Law Journal* 16-59 (November, 1913).

³ I am using Hohfeld's synonym, "liberty," rather than his basic term, "privilege." *op. cit.*, pp. 36, 41. The ambiguity of "privilege" for prescriptive purposes is insuperable. As pointed out in the first essay, courts have referred to the entry of aliens and to certain licenses as "privileges." In the recent case, *Boudin v. Dulles*, 136 F. Supp. 218 (1955), the district court asserted that "travel abroad is more than a mere privilege accorded to American citizens" (italics mine). In each of these situations, it is the act or activity itself which is the privilege, but which is regulated at the discretion of the grantor. It is in this sense that government employment is a privilege. However, such activities as entry or employment can be regulated unilaterally, because of the "privileged" position of the grantor. When the relation is stated this way, the government appears to possess the privilege. The practical consequences of the two usages are the same; but misunderstanding is so inevitable that, in both essays, I have used privilege to refer to the grant itself, and liberty to refer to the legal attribute of the grantor.

not affirmative claims by their possessors against others: they are, as it were, areas outside the rights of others.

In my usage, a *liability* is an exposure to duty. It is not the duty itself. That is to say, where a duty may be created, but has not been created, a liability exists. The liability of one party to a relationship is a logical function of the power of the other to establish an obligation.

Finally, by *immunity* I shall mean the opposite of liability. Correlatively, where immunity exists for one party to an exclusive relationship, the other has no power to affect their legal relations.

Needs and Resources of the Parties

DEFINITION of the terms of the problem introduces a second preliminary issue, both of method and of substance. It is not the question of what principles should regulate public employment; it is rather the prior question: what considerations must affect the principles which are, in turn, to project the characteristics of the public service?

It is elementary that the theory of public employment is restricted by the social and political context in which it must function. It is also clear that the rationalization must accommodate certain basic, and more or less fixed, features of the parties. Both of these requirements are revealed in the practical needs and resources of the government and the public employee.

Needs

The government's needs in public employment are extensive and diverse. Basically, however, they may be reduced to the following four.

1. *Faithful performance.* Clearly, the government must have from its employees a trustworthy and honest fulfilment of their tasks. Duties must be carried out as assigned. Moreover, where discretionary determinations are made, they must be within the intent of legislation or in accordance with the standards provided by the administrative hierarchy. Under this heading would come, as well, political loyalty. The government must have the unqualified allegiance and support of all its em-

ployees; and from those in certain positions, it must have security beyond suspicion.

2. *Managerial freedom.* The state must be free to take appropriate measures for the achievement of public programs. In relation to the public service, this freedom requires that the government be able to decide what positions are needed, how many are wanted, and what are their duties. The government must be able to fix the standards and quality of work, to mete out discipline, and indeed to use all the ordinary devices which have been found necessary to secure from workers an industrious, competent, and subordinate service.

3. *Flexibility of policy.* Moreover, the government needs in a larger way to be unfettered concerning substantive policy itself. Hence, the employment interests of public employees in any policy cannot be allowed to obstruct or interfere with the pursuit of a legitimate public interest. The primacy of the majority cannot be burked by a minority who happen to be in its service.

4. *Continuity of services.* Finally, the government must be able to maintain certain functions without interruption. Such a necessity is imposed by the very conditions of social and political survival. It goes without saying that no highly organized and interdependent society can be without protection of life and property; and no political unit can afford to expose itself needlessly to internal or external danger. Functions not normally critical may become so under certain conditions; and not all the usually critical activities are always critical. As far as public employment is concerned, this need means simply that the government must be free to fix terms that will allow it to maintain essential services.

The needs of the public employer have their counterparts for the public employee. The employee's needs, likewise, may be reduced to four.

1. *Reasonable working conditions.* The public employee needs an adequate reward for his services. Such reward includes salary and related economic compensations. It means, as well, the provision of a safe and healthy place in which to work and, wherever possible, the elimination of unnecessary strains on body and spirit. Without these standards of well-being, the employee obviously cannot meet his re-

sponsibilities to his dependents, his creditors, or the community.

2. *Minimum security.* The civil servant must protect himself from some of life's most destructive vicissitudes. He needs, for instance, a shield against the cost of illness, accident, or loss of earning power. During the period of his employment, he must be able to guard another critical possession—his good name. He must preserve his reputation and the "good will" which his record has earned against assaults.

3. *Freedoms of enterprise.* The public employee has a variety of interests in management. Foremost, he needs to be able to participate in managerial decisions. We have discovered, long since, the limitations of a merely economic interpretation of the needs of men in their work; and if the normal urges of the members of an open society are not to be stultified, opportunity for responsible cooperation in labor must exist. At the same time, talented men need to be able to advance by their own industry. In short, the freedoms of enterprise which we have found essential to employee welfare in private endeavor are no less a necessity in public employment, and for equally cogent reasons.

4. *Preservation of political status.* It must also be remembered that the public employee has vital interests in public policy itself. He is relieved of none of the duties of membership in the political community by virtue of his vocation. In this respect, he is as affected as is any other citizen by the acts of the state, and has an equal stake in them. But in addition, the details of his employment are matters of public policy.

For ordinary citizens interested in the ordinary acts of the state, democratic constitutional government has deemed it necessary to provide attributes which are put beyond the state's power. An equal need exists, in the premises, for the public employee. And to the extent that still more facets of his life are liable to governmental regulation, he requires exceptional counterpowers.

Resources

Turning now to the other side of their situations, each party has certain means by which it can secure and protect its interests in

the employment relationship. Again, only fundamental characteristics are to be considered.

Economically, the government has unique resources. Assuredly it has only the money it can raise by loans and levies; and at any given moment the executive has only the funds that are provided for approved expenditure. These are not, however, measures of capacity. Ultimately the government has such fiscal strength as the wealth of its jurisdiction can supply. The point may be made by a comparison. Whereas the resources of private enterprises are restricted to their own assets, the state may draw upon the assets of all its citizens and corporate persons. Moreover, the government does not in a competitive sense have to earn its income; it may take it by taxation.

In the political sector also, the state has important resources. I refer here not to explicit constitutional provisions, but to the basic situation of the state in social organization. The government has, and must have, a monopoly on force; and this monopoly is effectively supported by the police and the militia. Further, the government has a positional advantage over all private institutions in that it must ordinarily be presumed to represent the public interest.

On the other hand, the employee has certain economic resources. Standing alone, he has his services to offer. Concededly, he can refuse to work for the government and sell his labor elsewhere. In combination, he has still other economic resources. By pooling their reserves, employees can withstand temporary unemployment. By collective action, bargaining, and the combined withholding of critical skills, more effective pressure can be put upon those who need their services. By a strike, carefully timed and focused, it would be possible for public employees to expose the community to inconvenience or even danger.

The political resources of the individual employee include, first, the power of his vote. In a democratic state, public policy is regulated, theoretically at least, by the franchise. Such power is manifestly more ultimate than immediate, however. In an organized, pluralistic body politic, political power requires other effective forms. To the extent that public employees have such forms their political resources are enhanced. Yet again, it must be

noted that civil servants make significant contributions to public policy from the inside of the process. Although the opportunity to exercise political influence in this way is limited to the technical and professional positions, it is in the large picture a source of strength. Finally, the employee has resort to the tribunals of justice. Allowing for the presumption of regularity of governmental action, when his legal attributes are unduly infringed he may secure redress.

While this review discloses the specific needs and resources of the parties to public employment, it also reveals the balance of these factors. When the needs of the government and the public employee are reviewed, it is apparent that each has serious and pressing requirements. But although their needs are comparable in this sense, their respective resources in relation to their needs are vastly unequal. For example, the government's great economic capacity would allow it to provide working conditions for its employees which would be superior to those supplied by any other social institution. Its comprehensive and flexible resources also make it relatively immune from ordinary economic pressure from its employees. The political position of the public employer is similarly advantageous. The employee must confront the potential physical power of the state in his dealings with his employer. Even in the use of the instrumentalities of judicial redress, the employee is necessarily at a disadvantage against his public adversary. Fundamentally, and without reference to any particular rationalization of the employment relationship, the government has strengths with which to achieve and protect its interests in public employment which are unmatched by the employee's relative capacity.

A satisfactory theory of public employment must take into account these inherent conditions. Not only must the prescription be oriented to the practical needs of the parties; it must accommodate the effective inequality of their basic resources.

General Features of the Proposal

It is now possible to postulate some fundamental propositions of a general theory of public employment. The foregoing review of the needs and resources of the government and

of the public employee suggests the necessary framework of such a theory.

The initial proposition is that public employment is a public relationship. This seeming tautology signifies in theoretical terms what the preceding analysis has made plain pragmatically: that public employment cannot be compared in any fundamental way to private employment. There is no real ambivalence in the employment relationship.⁴ On the contrary, public employment is and must be a relation between the state and a segment of the body politic. It is, therefore, intrinsically like any other connection between the government and a group of citizens.

From this elemental necessity, a number of other propositions derive. First, it becomes clear that the employment relationship must be rationalized in a context of public, not private, law. This being the case, it follows, sec-

⁴ The literature on this problem is filled with controversy concerning the similarity between public and private employment. Typically, those who wish to improve the status of the public employee point to (a) the generally superior conditions of employment for the private employee and (b) the similarities between the needs of public and private employees. But this is an awkward brief for the public employee. When the needs of employees are considered only, it might be argued with equal force that the position of the private employee should be lowered to that of the public worker. To overcome this argument, it is necessary for the sponsor of the public employee to prove that the private employee's position has some superior prescriptive claim. While such proof might be made in terms of managerial effectiveness, it usually is not.

The similarity between the needs of the employees is relevant to the rationalization of public employment at a certain stage, but it is not an adequate base for determining the essential character of the employment relationship. The needs of the employer must also be reckoned, and his resources must be considered. When such a larger view is taken, it becomes plain that the needs of the public and private employers are not the same. The government's requirements include, but exceed, those of the entrepreneur. Also the resources of the government include, but exceed, those of private employers. Because of these "excesses," the needs of the public employee are, in fact, greater than those of the private employee.

The similarity between public and private employment is thus both partial and superficial. Moreover, the factors which show this also establish the political character of public employment. Friends of the public employee might indeed better serve his cause, not by pointing out the similarities between public and private employment, but by emphasizing their differences.

ond, that the positions of the parties are regulated by fundamental law. More specifically, the attributes of the government and the employee must be compatible with the federal Constitution and relevant state Constitutions and local charters. Finally, the public character of public employment means that *all* public employment is public. That is to say, there are no fundamental distinctions among functions and positions: all public employment is subject to the same system of principles.⁵

Although there is an essential unity in all state-citizen relationships, public employment may still be a specific aspect of the totality. It is a particular phase of our political system which, while conforming to the master pattern, may have its own subordinate principles and rules. Indeed, the proposal which I offer here is an outline of a set of such conforming, subordinate precepts. If a distinctive designation would be useful, this prescription might be termed "public agency."⁶

The Central Principles

Three principles seem to me to embody the essential standards of this proposed theory of public agency. I have designated them "democratic effectiveness," "compensatory right," and "equitable advantage."

As the term democratic effectiveness implies, this principle has two aspects—democracy and efficiency.⁷ The first part emphasizes the con-

dition that public employment is a public relationship. It imparts to the principle all of the presumptions of democratic, constitutional government. The second half of the term points toward the requirements of efficient execution. The effectiveness factor emphasizes the orderly, prompt, and unfettered accomplishment of the purposes of the state. The two aspects pull apart: the adjective restrains but does not overcome the noun. The requirements of effective government may demand that the democratic character of employment be suppressed or, momentarily, set aside.

Expressed differently, this principle holds that the government must be able to satisfy its practical needs. The state must be empowered to take such measures as are necessary to protect its interests and the public welfare. But this is not to say that it may take any measure at all, for any interest or any welfare. What is allowed, in sum, is that where there are compelling reasons, and after a showing that the abridgment is indispensable to an essential need, the government may override the ordinary attributes of its employees.

This is not the concept of the police power, for that concept involves the "plenary power in the state which enables it to prohibit all things hurtful to the comfort, safety and welfare of society."⁸ Also, "the police power is usually exerted merely to regulate the use and enjoyment of [rights]," and if "in order to promote the general welfare of the public . . ." rights are limited or destroyed, the possessor is not "entitled to any compensation for any injury which he may sustain in consequence thereof."⁹ Democratic effectiveness is to be dis-

⁵ Thus the problem of establishing general categories of "governmental," "proprietary," and other classes of activities is avoided. For decades, courts have struggled in this theoretical *cul de sac*. The fact is, as has lately been recognized, that no such classification suitable for one purpose will serve for another. Some students of public administration have slipped into the same impasse. See, for example, Sterling D. Spero, *The Labor Movement in a Government Industry* (Macmillan Co., 1927), pp. 11 ff.; David Ziskind, *One Thousand Strikes of Government Employees* (Columbia University Press, 1940), pp. 8 ff. But cf. Spero, *Government as Employer* (Remson Press, 1948), pp. 1-15.

⁶ Were it not for the special needs of the government, the law of private agency would offer many useful concepts for a theory of public employment. In fact, some of the earliest cases on public office did refer to employment as "agency." For example, in *Conner v. City of New York*, 5 N.Y. 285 (1851), at p. 294, the court stated: "Public offices in this state are not incorporeal hereditaments; nor have they the character or qualities of grants; they are agencies."

⁷ I have borrowed half of this term from J. D. B. Mitchell, who has proposed a test of "governmental

effectiveness" in connection with the enforceability of contracts against the government by private contractors (*The Contracts of Public Authorities*, London: Bell and Sons, Ltd., 1954). Although it emphasizes the problems of contracts, in a comparative study of Britain, France, and the United States, Mitchell's incisive theoretical analysis has much relevance to the problems of public employment. Another discussion of the conceptual aspects of public employment may be found in Morton R. Godine, *The Labor Problem in the Public Service* (Harvard University Press, 1951), pp. 21-61.

⁸ *Oldknow v. City of Atlanta*, 9 Ga. App. 594 (1911), at p. 596. See further, Ernst Freund, *The Police Power, Public Policy, and Constitutional Rights* (Callaghan & Co., 1904), pp. 3-22.

⁹ *C. B. and Q. Railway Co. v. People*, 212 Ill. 103 (1904), at p. 116.

tinguished from the police power, in that it implies neither plenary power nor immunity on the government's part. The democratic factor of the standard qualifies the effectiveness factor.

The qualification imposed by the democratic factor is made explicit in the second principle, "compensatory right." Here I mean that where the fundamental rights of one party to the relationship are invaded by the other, there shall be jural compensation. That is to say, if the needs of public employment demand the abridgment of the attributes of the government or the employee, a counterclaim is thereby created.

This principle is couched in values like those qualifying eminent domain. Property rights of individuals may have to be subordinated for governmental effectiveness; but if so, compensation is due. An individual right thus balances a public right.

The right of eminent domain is *sui generis* in our system of government involving an invasion of the rights of the individual citizen not found elsewhere in our laws, and to that extent, the right of the citizen against whom it is invoked must be jealously guarded, and the powers sought to be exercised under it restricted with equal care. The genius of eminent domain proceedings, under the modern theory, is that the property holder who is required *in invitum* to give up property with which he has no desire to part, shall be left whole financially by reason of the proceedings, and shall receive just compensation for what is taken from him.¹⁰

Correspondingly, the standard of "compensatory right" in public employment means that any party who is required through public employment to give up rights "with which he has no desire to part" shall be "left whole" by a right to compensation. As in the exercise of eminent domain, the practical difficulties of calculating compensation cannot be allowed to interfere with the force of the principle.

The third principle, which I designate "equitable advantage," also has parallels in existing political and legal theory. It embodies, essentially, the ideal that men shall stand equal before the law. This is not to say merely that

the laws should be equally enforced against those to whom they apply, but rather that the laws should be substantially equal.

This is a concept which we have expressed in other connections through due process of law and equal protection of the laws. Specifically, it is a "pledge of equal laws."¹¹ It asserts, in Justice Frankfurter's dictum, that "Congress may withhold all sorts of facilities for a better life, but if it affords them it cannot make them available in an obviously arbitrary way. . . ."¹² This is a standard of reasonableness: it is an injunction against discrimination. It does not ask that those who are different in fact be treated the same way; but it would require that those who are similarly situated be treated similarly by the state.¹³

In relation to public employment, the principle of equitable advantage would require, therefore, that restrictions placed by the government upon employed persons not discriminate against public employees. And when public benefits are supplied, the community cannot arbitrarily or unreasonably exclude members of the public service.

As is apparent, these principles are interrelated. Each finds full meaning only in the context of the others; and all depend upon the fundamental condition that public employment is an aspect of democratic, constitutional government. Since the government might, under certain circumstances, be unduly hampered by this framework, the principle of *democratic effectiveness* provides a potential release from its ordinary confines. But the release is exceptional and conditional. The integrity of the employee's position is maintained, for the democratic factor of the first principle is reinforced by the second principle, *compensatory right*. Although the fact of compensation makes the public employee superficially different from other citizens, his claims are equivalent; and the essential balance between him and the state is maintained. The second principle, thus, operates as a counterpoise against

¹⁰ *Yick Wo v. Hopkins*, 118 U.S. 356 (1886), p. 369.

¹¹ *American Communications Assn. v. Douds*, 339 U.S. 382 (1950), at p. 417.

¹² The problems of such a test are discussed by Joseph Tussman and Jacobus ten Broek, "The Equal Protection of the Laws," 37 *California Law Review* 242 (September, 1949).

¹³ *In re South Carolina Public Service Authority*, 37 F. Supp. 28 (1941) at p. 30. See generally, Philip Nichols, *Law of Eminent Domain*, 3d ed. (Bender & Co., 1950), Vol. I, pp. 2-16, 31-50.

the first, but is indeed contained in the premises of the first. The third standard, *equitable advantage*, reintroduces the second, insofar as it also tests the government's demands for effectiveness. But the third principle focuses upon those acts which the state is under no legal compulsion to perform. Since the principle of equitable advantage is also based upon an ordinary right, failure by the state to provide equality in specific matters could justify a compensatory claim. In this sense, the second principle emerges again in the third.

Hence, each of the standards of the proposal is at once distinct and duplicatory, independent and contingent. Each emphasizes a different sector of the employment relationship; and while all serve as constant criteria for maintaining the positions of the parties, in any given adjustment each would have a special stage of application.

General Attributes of the Parties

In this form, the theory of public agency is necessarily abstract. It can be made more specific by translating the concepts just described into basic attributes of the parties. The practical implications of the proposal will become more apparent later, when these attributes are extended to actual fact situations. In order to make the results of the translation as clear as possible, the new attributes of each party will be contrasted with those they have at present under the doctrine of privilege.

Rights. In general, the theory of public agency would provide to the government all the rights which flow from fundamental law.¹⁴ The government may fix any terms or conditions of public employment which do not violate the rights of citizens. If, however, the community's needs require that public employees compromise their normal rights as citizens, the government may by meeting the tests of democratic effectiveness make such requirements as are justified. The government, thereby, gains an extraordinary right.

The employee has all the rights of citizens. If, however, the needs of the government make it necessary that any of these rights be quali-

fied or set aside, the employee gains an extraordinary claim to compensation. In this connection, the employee does not have to accede to the demands of the government merely because they are demanded. The state must, in effect, sue for its release, and meet the requirements of the principle of democratic effectiveness.

In contrast to this result, the public employee today appears to have no fundamental or independent rights in employment. He gains such secondary rights as he possesses from legislation and administrative regulation. For the extraordinary demands put upon him, he has no claim to indemnification. At present, the government draws its rights from the Constitution and, when necessary, from the *mystique* of sovereignty. The government's rights are now all potentially extraordinary.

Duties. Since duties are the correlatives of rights, the position of each party would merely be the product of the other's rights. But it is worth noting, specifically, that under the proposal the duties of the government are fixed by the employee's claims, and that they may be enforced against the government. Moreover, the extraordinary claims of the state would not relieve it from any over-all duties. On the contrary, since all extraordinary rights are countered by extraordinary claims for the employee, the state may be put under extraordinary duties by its employees.

The changes which the proposal would achieve in this respect are basic and comprehensive. Under the privilege doctrine, the government has no duties, nor indeed is it possible within that framework to establish any obligations except those which the government might assume voluntarily. The privilege rationale speaks of the "will" of the state, but never hints that any obligations should accompany such imperious power. In effect, the theory of public agency would relieve the public employee of some duties, but create duties for the government, by adjusting their respective rights.

Liberties. The government's liberties would consist of those aspects of the relationship which it might regulate without a duty to the employee. Thus, subject to the rights of the employee, the government could control a

¹⁴ The positions outlined here would be the same for all levels of government, qualified of course by secondary differences in state Constitutions and laws.

wide variety of matters involved in employment. Short of discrimination—such as the state failing to follow its own minimum wage laws—the government could establish the hours, salaries, and other details of working conditions. The government would have all the managerial freedom associated with normal administration. It would be entirely free to make any demand which did not require a surrender of its employees' fundamental rights.

Theoretically, the employee would also enjoy wide liberties. He would be at liberty concerning the same matters in which the government enjoys a liberty. For example, he could refuse or accept employment, negotiate concerning his wages, make proposals or offers about working conditions. The real liberties of the parties will always be unequal, however, because of the inequalities in their resources.

At present, by contrast, the government is in an over-all condition of liberty. The theory of public agency would reduce this freedom, by granting the employee new rights, thus bringing the government under new duties and reducing the government's liberties. By virtue of the government's loss of some rights, therefore, the employee would indirectly receive new liberties.

Liabilities. The state would be exposed to the creation of obligations in a wide area. Whenever it needed to set aside the ordinary rights of employees, it would incur liabilities. At the same time, the standard of equitable advantage would subject the state to potential duties in connection with working conditions.

On the other hand, the public employee would also be liable in many respects. He is always exposed to extraordinary responsibilities; and the very nature of public employment subjects him to unusual liabilities in connection with procedure, accounting for expenditures, and regularity of performance.

Under the doctrine of privilege, the government's liabilities to the employee are almost nonexistent, except perhaps to the extent that the employee may be free to abandon his employment. The civil servant's liabilities, by contrast, are almost unlimited. Since the theory of public agency would enhance the employee's powers, the state's liabilities would be enlarged. Correspondingly, the responsi-

bilities of the employee would be reduced through the new limitations put upon the government.

Immunities. Finally, since immunities are the opposite of liabilities, it is enough to note that the government would be immune outside the areas just discussed, in which it is liable to be put under a duty. The result of the proposal can be detected most clearly, however, in regard to the employee. He would be shielded from changes in his relation to the government in the spheres of his fundamental rights. He would, in effect, be as protected from the power of the state as is the ordinary citizen, except that he might have to accept compensations for the loss of primary rights.

Again the contrast between this result and the doctrine of privilege is sharp and wide. At present, the government is largely immune, while the employee is exposed. The adjustment which would be achieved, therefore, is a reduction of the state's immunity and an increase in that of the employee.

The Theory of Public Agency in Application

THE implications of the theory of public agency may now be tested in practical situations. By applying the standards of the proposal to specific facts, particular rules of law and policy can be inferred. For this purpose I shall use the leading cases which were employed in the earlier essay to reveal the development and existence of the doctrine of privilege.

However, it should be made clear before such an application that the theory of public agency is not a judicial prescription. On the contrary, it is a general formulation which is intended to offer a basis for public policy. It should be applied by legislatures and administrators, before reaching the courts. The cases presented here, therefore, are to be understood as instances of the last resort, where policies have failed to embody the appropriate standards.

The Rule of Tenure

The relevant facts of the Hennen case were:

The petitioner . . . in the year 1834, was duly appointed clerk of the . . . Court by the Honorable Samuel H. Hooper, judge. . . . [He] continued to

perform the . . . duties, and receive the emoluments, and in all respects to hold and occupy [the office] until . . . 1898, when he received a communication from the Honourable Phillip K. Lawrence, then . . . judge of the . . . District Court . . . apprizing him of his removal from [the] office of clerk, and the appointment of John Winthrop in his place. And in this communication he states, unreservedly, that the business of the office . . . had been conducted promptly, skillfully, and uprightly, and that in appointing Mr. Winthrop to succeed him, he had been actuated purely by a sense of duty and feelings of kindness towards one whom he had long known, and between whom and himself the closest friendship had ever subsisted. . . .

The petitioner . . . prays that the Court will award a writ of mandamus, directed to the . . . judge of the District Court, commanding him forthwith to restore the petitioner to the office of clerk. . . .

The Supreme Court refused to grant Hennen's petition, saying:

All offices, the tenure of which is not fixed by the Constitution or limited by law, must be held . . . at the will and discretion of some department of the government, and subject to removal at pleasure.¹⁴

The situation, therefore, was that a clerk who was appointed under the spoils system was removed later, the same way. There was no question of discharge for cause, the only cause being that a new judge wanted to express his "feelings of kindness towards" someone else.

In these circumstances, the theory of public agency would achieve the same result as reached by the court. Although the case invites questions as to the wisdom of the spoils system, these issues are not justiciable. If Hennen had been discharged for other reasons, or had there been merit system legislation, the conclusion could be different. But on the given facts, the government would be at liberty to discharge such employees; the employees would be liable to dismissal; and no rights or duties would be involved.

The Rule of Political Neutrality

In the case of *United Public Workers v. Mitchell*,¹⁵ George Poole, a roller in the United

States Mint in Philadelphia, was threatened with discharge under sec. 9a of the Hatch Act and Civil Service Rule 1 issued under authority of the act. The complaint against Poole, as accepted by the court, was:

George P. Poole held the political party office of Democratic Ward Executive Committeeman in the City of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

The said George P. Poole was politically active by aiding and assisting the Democratic Party in the capacity of worker at the polls on general election day, November 5, 1940, and assisted in the distribution of funds in paying party workers for their services on general election day, November 5, 1940.

The above described activity constitutes taking an active part in political management and in a political campaign in contravention of Section 1, Civil Service Rule 1, and the regulations adopted by the Commissioners thereunder.

The issue for decision "is whether such a breach of the Hatch Act and Rule 1 of the Commission can, without violating the Constitution, be made the basis for disciplinary action."¹⁷ The Supreme Court sustained the act and regulations.

The theory of public agency would reach a contrary result. Poole is a machine operator whose duties are routine and prescribed, and entail no discretion as to public policy. There was no showing that the political activities cited interfered with the necessary efficiency of the government. The indiscriminate deprivation, for Poole and other millions of such public employees (and even for their wives or husbands under the regulations), of "what otherwise would be the freedom of the civil servant under the First, Ninth, and Tenth Amendments," would fall before the principle of democratic effectiveness. Poole's rights would remain intact, and he would be immune from such governmental action.¹⁸

¹⁴ At pp. 93, 94. The relevant section of the Hatch Act states: "No officer or employee in the executive branch . . . shall take any active part in political management or in political campaigns." Elsewhere, the act makes certain exceptions. "Discipline" consists of "immediate discharge and a permanent ban against reemployment in the same position." (Sec. 9b; 18 U.S.C. 61h(b).)

¹⁵ In this case the dissenting opinion of Black and Douglas proposed standards of "grave and imminent danger" (at p. 110) and "clear and present danger" (at p. 124) respectively, before allowing a restriction of the political rights of civil servants. That such an insistence

¹⁶ *Ex parte Duncan H. Hennen*, 13 Peters 230 (1839), at pp. 256, 7, 9.

¹⁷ 330 U.S. 75 (1947).

This is not to say that some restraints cannot be put upon the political activities of public employees. And if Poole were the Director of the Bureau of the Mint, undoubtedly the case would be different. Also, measures could be designed to get at specific evils without encountering constitutional obstacles. But in present form and as applicable to all public employees, the section of the act and the regulations issued under it would be invalid.

The Rules of Association and Collective Bargaining

In the *Fursman* case, the essential facts were:

This is an appeal from a decree . . . enjoining the board of education . . . from enforcing . . . rule 93a. . . . The rule as amended is as follows:

"1. Membership by teachers in labor unions, or in organizations of teachers affiliated with a trade union or a federation or association of trade unions, is inimical to proper discipline, prejudicial to the efficiency of the teaching force and detrimental to the welfare of the public school system, therefore, such membership, or affiliation, is hereby prohibited. . . ."

The Illinois Supreme Court sustained this rule, stating in part:

[It] is no infringement upon the constitutional rights of anyone for the board to decline to employ him . . . , and it is immaterial whether the reason . . . is because the applicant is married or unmarried, is of fair complexion or dark, is or is not a member of a trade union, or whether no reason is given for such refusal."

Under the theory of public agency, a different conclusion would be drawn. Moreover, no such sweeping dictum could be asserted. If this controversy were contemporary, teachers would have a right to join or form labor unions, independent or affiliated, and to pursue the purposes which such organizations normally seek. Since courts, including the Supreme Court of the United States, have found association by workers in labor unions to be

upon a practical showing of urgent necessity before the government may override the ordinary rights of public employees is essentially what I have suggested in the principle of democratic effectiveness.

"*People ex rel. Fursman v. Chicago*, 278 Ill. 318 (1917), at p. 319.

a "fundamental right"²⁰ and a right "protected by the Constitution against governmental infringement,"²¹ it must be presumed to belong to all citizens, including those who work for the government.

If, however, the board believed, as its rule suggests, that membership of teachers in labor unions must be proscribed in order to protect the public welfare, then a demonstration must be made. A mere assertion that membership is "inimical to discipline, prejudicial to . . . efficiency . . . , and detrimental to the welfare of the public school system" is certainly not enough where fundamental rights are at issue. Further, even if teacher organization had the effects alleged, these effects would have to be so serious for the community as to warrant prohibition. After such seriousness had been established, moreover, the government would have to be prepared to provide alternate, compensatory means whereby teachers could safeguard their legitimate interests.

The right to strike, involved in the *Norwalk Teachers* case, presents additional questions. The pertinent facts were:

This is a suit between the Norwalk Teachers' Assn. as plaintiff and the Norwalk board of education as defendant for a declaratory judgment. . . .

The complaint may be summarized as follows: The plaintiff is a voluntary association and an independent labor union to which all but two of the teaching personnel of approximately 300 in the Norwalk school system belong. In April, 1946, there was a dispute between the parties over salary rates. . . . After long negotiations, 230 members of the association rejected the individual contracts of employment tendered them and refused to return to their teaching duties. After further negotiations . . . a contract was entered into between the plaintiff and the defendant, and the teachers returned to their duties. The contract . . . recognized the plaintiff as the bargaining agent for all its members, defined working conditions and set up a grievance procedure and salary schedule. Similar contracts were entered into for the succeeding school years, including 1950-51. . . . [M]uch doubt and uncertainty have arisen concerning the rights and duties of the respective parties. . . . "In addition," the complaint states, "there has been the possibility of strikes, work stoppage or collective refusals to re-

²⁰ *N.L.R.B. v. Jones and Laughlin Steel Corp.*, 301 U.S. 1 (1937).

²¹ *N.L.R.B. v. Budd Mfg. Co.*, 169 F.2d 571 (1948), at p. 577; cert. denied 335 U.S. 908.

turn to work by the teachers through their organization. . . ."²²

The main question was, could the teachers strike? Replied the Connecticut superior court: "The answer . . . is 'No.'" The opinion concluded:

These people [the teachers] exercise some part of the sovereignty. . . . To say that they can strike is the equivalent of saying that they can deny the authority of government and contravene the public welfare.²³

The theory of public agency would answer "Yes." Assuming, for illustration, that the state's laws on labor-management relations are similar to the present federal laws (so far as strikes by private employees are permitted under certain conditions and an express prohibition applies against strikes in the public service), the reasoning would be as follows.

The right to strike, whatever its exact constitutional status,²⁴ is a crucial device of collective bargaining.

Because the employer controls the plant and issues the pay checks, he is in a position to enforce his will unilaterally so long as the plant continues to operate. The union is then faced with the issue of whether to close the plant by refusing to work. It is the union's basic method of exerting economic pressure.²⁵

Mutatis mutandis, public employees face such a dilemma. On balance, because of the excessive superiority of the government's resources, the civil servant's need for this "method of exerting economic pressure" is probably greater than that of private employees. "The plain fact is, left to itself, the State has neither the knowledge nor the inclination to alter for the better the conditions under which its civil employees work."²⁶

²² *Norwalk Teachers' Assn. v. Board of Education*, 138 Conn. 269 (1951), at p. 270.

²³ At p. 276.

²⁴ It is enough to say that the law on this point is "unsettled." *N.L.R.B. v. Jones and Laughlin Steel Corp.*, 301 U.S. 1 (1937); *United States v. United Mine Workers*, 330 U.S. 258 (1947); *International Union, U.A.W. (A.F.L.) v. Webb*, 336 U.S. 245 (1949). See also Robert E. Mathews, ed., *Labor Relations and the Law* (Little, Brown & Co., 1953), pp. 682-724.

²⁵ Mathews, *op. cit.*, p. 682.

²⁶ Ordway Tead, "Labor Unions in a Democratic State," 35 *Good Government* 134 (February, 1918), cited in Godine, *op. cit.*, p. 15.

Nevertheless, it must be recognized that the government has special needs. Among them is the continuity of essential services. Public education is for many reasons an important public service. But while important, it is by no means a service that must function continuously. Such a contention could hardly be made, in view of the fact that schools have frequent holidays and do not normally operate for approximately one-fourth of the calendar year. While the wear and tear on parents may be somewhat increased, and the load on other public services may be raised slightly, temporary interruptions in the schools can probably be sustained better than in any other public, and in many private, services.

If a "fundamental" right to strike exists, therefore, it is unlikely that the board of education can overcome the burden of proof put upon it by the principle of democratic effectiveness.

On other grounds also, the theory of public agency would require a reversal of the *Norwalk* decision. If the right to strike comes from legislation, not from the Constitution, the case would fall under the principle of equitable advantage. Since the right to strike is so essential to collective bargaining, and is a "basic" method of protecting legitimate interests; since the public school teacher's need for this device is at least as great as that of the private school teacher; and since no essential service is jeopardized: therefore to provide private school teachers with such a right, while denying it to the public school teachers, is to discriminate against the latter and place them at a serious disadvantage before the law. The prohibition could not be sustained as a reasonable restriction.²⁷

²⁷ The cases utilized here to reveal the contrast between the theory of public agency and the doctrine of privilege do not present a situation which would illustrate the operation of the principle of compensatory right. It may be useful, in view of the significance of the right to strike, to change the facts of the instant case by substituting another group of employees for teachers, for example firemen or policemen whose services cannot be interrupted. There would, then, be no right to strike.

An adequate compensatory right might then be ensured in a variety of ways. The simplest means of protecting the essential interests of both parties and of satisfying the requirements of the principle, however, would be through some form of compulsory arbitration. Disputes reaching a certain stage of seriousness might be

The Rule of Loyalty

The essential facts of the leading case of *Bailey v. Richardson*²⁸ were: Dorothy Bailey, a staff training officer in the United States Employment Service, was dismissed from her post under the provisions of Executive Order No. 9835²⁹ which established the federal loyalty program. While given a hearing, as required by the order, Miss Bailey did not have a "judicial type" of hearing. As the majority of the Court of Appeals explained the distinction:

... she was not told the names of the informants against her. She was not permitted to face or cross examine those informants. She was not given the dates or places at which she was alleged to have been active in the named alleged subversive organizations.³⁰

But, as the minority added:

Without trial by jury, without evidence, and without even being allowed to confront her accusers or to know their identity, a citizen of the United States has been found disloyal to the government of the United States.³¹

Among several bases of appeal for a declaratory order directing her reinstatement, Miss Bailey urged that the method of her dismissal violated the due process clause of the Fifth Amendment. The court, however, sustained the order. The reasoning on the point was that since public office is not life, or liberty, or property, the due process clause does not apply. The opinion concluded: "Due process of law is not applicable unless one is being deprived of something to which he has a right."³²

The theory of public agency would reach a different result. Moreover, the point would be approached by a different route. By asserting

referred to an agency comprised of disinterested arbitrators, the decisions reached being binding and enforceable against both sides.

Obviously, the problems of providing compensation for the forced sacrifice of other rights may prove more difficult. While difficult, such problems are by no means insurmountable. Under the proposal, they become questions of administrative technique and political inventiveness, rather than of principle.

²⁸ 182 F 2nd 46 (1950); affirmed by equally divided court in 341 U.S. 918 (1951).

²⁹ March 21, 1947, 12 Fed. Reg. 1935 (1947).

³⁰ 182 F 2nd 46, at p. 58.

³¹ *Ibid.*, at p. 66.

³² *Ibid.*, at p. 58.

that employment is not life, or liberty, or property, and by positing the premise that employees have no right to employment, the reasoning is forced doubly to the conclusion that due process is irrelevant to dismissal from public employment. It is submitted, however, that public employment does not have to fall within these categories, and a right to public office does not need to exist, before a public employee may be entitled to due process of law. Employment could indeed be a privilege, as the court implies, and the same requirement would obtain. For it is not the loss or retention of employment, but rather the adjudication of the individual's loyalty to the United States, which is the operative fact.

It will be recalled that the fundamental proposition of the theory of public agency outlined earlier is that public employment is a public relationship. Particularly is the political character of this relationship apparent in a loyalty-security proceeding. Here the allegiance of a "citizen of the United States . . . to the government of the United States" is adjudged by a public agency. "A finding of disloyalty," as the minority of the court explained, "is akin to a finding of treason."³³ It is not, therefore, the quality of the employee's performance which is adjudicated, but the quality of his citizenship. Whether public employment is life, liberty, or property is quite irrelevant to the issue: the proper question would be, what is citizenship in these terms? When the action is correctly depicted as a trial of political allegiance, there can be no doubt that a loyalty proceeding should fall under the shield of due process of law. The theory of public agency, by affirming the citizenship of the employee, would affirm his fundamental rights *in, not to, public employment.*

This is not to decide that the loyalty programs are otherwise unacceptable. Nor is it to suggest that summary action cannot be taken to protect the national security. It is to say, however, that when the loyalty of a public employee is finally adjudged, he is entitled to the procedural protections which have illumined our system of justice.

The Law of Office

Finally, a brief comment must be made con-

³³ *Ibid.*, at p. 66.

cerning the cases of *Butler v. Pennsylvania*³⁴ and *Conner v. New York*.³⁵ These cases from the old law of office held that public employment could not be contract or property, respectively, within the constitutional meaning of these terms. By this assertion, the courts meant that public office could not be private contract or private property.

The theory of public agency would reach the same conclusion. Under the proposal, the government would no doubt find it increasingly convenient to contract with its employees, individually and collectively, for their services and concerning working conditions.³⁶ These contracts would be bilateral agreements setting out the particular rights, duties, and other attributes of the parties to them. But since the needs of the government might always require special accommodation, the ordinary rules of contract could not apply rigidly to employment agreements. Thus, while the contractual device might be used, it could not be in all respects like the contracts between private parties. Its terms and enforceability would be subject to the principles of public agency, as outlined above.

Summary and Defense

IT MAY now be useful to restate the proposal briefly, and to anticipate certain objections which may be offered to its principal features.

In the preceding sections, I have not only attempted to rationalize the relationship between the government and the employee in public employment; I have also sought to demonstrate a method of achieving this rationalization. The methodological premise of this essay is that the theory of public employment must be based in the practical needs and resources of the parties. A review of these primary features discloses the essential character of the parties. The character of the parties, in turn, regulates the framework of the theory. But while in this

manner dictating the over-all theoretical framework, the needs and resources also suggest the subordinate principles which must govern public employment. The prescription must accommodate the special requirements of the public employer, yet protect the vital interests of the public employee. The principles of public agency would achieve this balance through the allocation of attributes to the parties. As is demonstrated in the section immediately preceding, these attributes would yield specific rules of law and policy to govern specific fact situations.

Substantively, I have urged that public employment is a public relationship, by which I mean that public employment is a political connection between the state and a group of citizens. It follows that the employment relationship is controlled, as are other political relationships, by the Constitution and the great articles of justice which we call fundamental law. Within this context, I have postulated principles of democratic effectiveness, compensatory right, and equitable advantage to comprise the central precepts of a theory of public agency. These principles would confine both the government and the public employee to the ordinary positions of the state and the citizen in democratic, constitutional government, but would permit extraordinary attributes when they are required for governmental effectiveness. Not only would a showing of exceptional need be demanded, but release from the regular limits for one party could not impose uncompensated sacrifices upon the other. The prescription would achieve a general redistribution of attributes for both parties; and these would yield, in the cases described, the specific rules that the employee has (1) no right of tenure in employment; but has (2) a right to participate in partisan political activity, (3) rights to organize in labor unions, to bargain collectively, and to strike, (4) a right to due process of law in loyalty proceedings, and (5) a right to contract with the government concerning working conditions. The government's attributes would be adjusted accordingly.

I am fully aware that this theory of public agency may give rise to objections. Any prescription so at variance with established doctrine and practice must invite constructive as well as conservative exceptions. While obvi-

³⁴ 10 Howard 402 (1850).

³⁵ 5 N.Y. 285 (1851).

³⁶ Such contracts are in fact already in use. The individual contract is very common in public education. The *Norwalk* case, above, provides an example of a collective contract in this service. On the extensive experience of the Tennessee Valley Authority with the industrial type of collective bargaining agreement, see Harry L. Case, *Personnel Policy in a Public Agency* (Harper & Brothers, 1955).

ously all of these objections cannot be predicted, and very few can be dealt with in the scope of the present essay, some can be foreseen and may be met in advance.

No doubt, it will be urged that the new theory disregards the state's sovereignty. Since the concept of sovereignty is fundamental to the doctrine of privilege, its elimination also reveals a critical difference between the existing and the proposed rationalization. In fact, the notion of sovereignty is as inappropriate to the employment relationship as it is to other relationships in democratic government. We do not in other connections between the state and citizens interpose the abstraction of an almighty sovereign. On the contrary, both government and citizens are restricted. Because the government may have extraordinary needs in public employment, it does not thereby earn a license to deprive its employees of their rights. The proper interests of the government can be protected without such autocracy; and they are protected by the principles of public agency.

Further, it may be asserted that the theory of public agency involves an unconstitutional delegation of power. *Delegata potestas non potest delegari*. Accordingly, it would be held that executive officials have no authority to fix the terms of employment: these conditions are established by law and must remain in the province of the legislature.

This argument is circular and without substantive merit. To be sure, at present executive officials do not have power to fix the conditions of employment. But the fact that they do not have such power does not signify that it would be unconstitutional for them to be given it. Great matters of public policy are now determined by administrative regulation within legislative authorization. There is no valid reason why similar arrangements cannot be utilized in public employment.³⁷ Contrary to the contention, public agency would involve a most appropriate use of the executive power. It would lead to greater flexibility in personnel policy. Administrative discretion to fix work-

ing conditions would relieve the legislature of details which it is ill equipped to decide. The proposal would improve managerial effectiveness and enhance the responsibility of executive officials.

Perhaps the most vigorous objection to any specific rule of the theory of public agency may be expected in connection with the right to strike. Some of the arguments against that rule may well parallel those already offered by the executive secretary of the National Civil Service League, who has asserted:

It is no more an inherent "right" of public employees to refuse to serve the people and still retain the privilege of continuing in the service of the people than it would be the "right" of motorists to refuse to pay gasoline taxes and still enjoy the privilege of using the public highways. It is no less offensive to the public interest for employees to decline to run elevators in public office buildings than for hospital nurses to leave a dying patient and join a strike parade; for a tax collector to divert part of his public collections to the union treasury to aid in a sympathetic strike or than for policemen to refuse to keep the public peace.³⁸

To these assertions, it must be replied that the public employee has no "privilege" in his job, and if he strikes, this action cannot automatically be regarded as a refusal "to serve the people." Strikes are caused by a breakdown in the normal means of adjustment of labor disputes, and there is no reason why such failures should not occur in the public service. Further, there is nothing unique about a strike as a technique of employee bargaining, except perhaps its effectiveness. By testing the consequences of particular strikes against the principles of the prescription, rather than by generalizing about all strikes, a satisfactory rule can be established in particular cases. As a matter of fact and contrary to the calamities predicted, a qualified right to strike would benefit everyone concerned with public employment. It would encourage the development of effective grievance machinery; it would promote employee consultation in the establishment of working conditions; and it would provide an ultimate means whereby public at-

³⁷ The authorities on this point are numerous. See, for example, *Yakus v. United States*, 321 U.S. 414 (1944); *Bowles v. Willingham*, 321 U.S. 503 (1944); *American Light and Power v. S.E.C.*, 329 U.S. 90 (1946); and Charles B. Nutting, "Congressional Delegations since the Schechter Case," 14 *Mississippi Law Journal* 350 (1942).

³⁸ H. Eliot Kaplan, "Concepts of Public Employee Relations," 1 *Industrial and Labor Relations Review* 224 (January, 1948).

tention could be focused upon the causes of labor dissatisfaction in the public service.

Further, it may be contended that public agency makes public employment a right when, after all, there is "no constitutional right to be a policeman." This objection is misplaced; it mistakes the approach of the proposal. Public agency does not make public employment a right. Indeed, the prescription does not attempt to define employment at all. It fixes rather the attributes of the two parties, with the result that each has many rights, duties, and other attributes.

In conclusion, it may be objected that the

proposal is incomplete. That objection must be accepted. However, it has not been the purpose of this essay to present a detailed blueprint of a revised public service. I have sought instead to develop the fundamental elements of a new theory of public employment. I have intended to propound principles on which the employment relationship might better be based. Indeed, I have attempted to demonstrate in the most conclusive fashion possible that the present privilege doctrine is unjust, unsound, and unnecessary: namely, by providing an equitable, practical, and urgently needed replacement.

Reviews of Books and Documents

Natural Resources and Government

By Lyle E. Craine, Department of Conservation, School of Natural Resources
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NATURAL RESOURCES AND THE POLITICAL STRUGGLE, by Norman Wengert. Short Studies in Political Science. Doubleday and Co., 1955. Pp. 71. \$0.95.

WATER RESOURCES AND POWER; A REPORT TO THE CONGRESS, by the Commission on Organization of the Executive Branch of the Government. U.S. Government Printing Office, June, 1955. 2 vols. Pp. 124, 94. \$0.50, \$0.35.

WATER RESOURCES POLICY; A REPORT, by the Presidential Advisory Committee on Water Resources Policy. December 22, 1955. U.S. Government Printing Office, 1956. Pp. 35.

NATURAL RESOURCES AND CONSERVATION, Report by the Study Committee on Natural Resources and Conservation submitted to the Commission on Intergovernmental Relations. U.S. Government Printing Office, June, 1955. Pp. 35. \$0.20.

NEXT to taxation, perhaps no other single subject has figured so controversially in domestic policy as natural resources. From the early days of the Republic, policies relating to the public domain have been integral parts of national issues relating to government financing and national development.

Then as now the basic problem of natural resources policy was the appropriate allocation of resources. The use of the public domain has involved the federal government from its very beginning in this problem. However, governmental concern about resource supply, whether publicly or privately owned, did not appear until the end of the nineteenth century when the conservation movement of Theodore Roosevelt, Gifford Pinchot, and others attacked the problem of wise use (proper allocation) of

the nation's resources. The first quarter of the twentieth century found new governmental policy largely directed to the "conservation" of specific resources and to particular problems of resource use. Although many aspects of this fragmentary approach to resource policies remain, today natural resource policy is a comprehensive, unitary problem.

By midcentury three factors had operated to bring about a resurgence and pervasion of the natural resources problem in the governmental sphere: the depression; the expanding materials requirements of war, defense, and unparalleled prosperity; and the concomitant change in public attitudes regarding the role of government in maintaining an active economy and in directing its course along chosen lines. As long as there were enough resources to go around, allocation was not a complex problem, and the operation of private enterprise by and large was relied upon for the allocation process. When shortages, actual or imagined, threatened, governmental processes were called upon and public issues emerged. At the close of World War II public concern about postwar recession gave rise to the Full Employment Act which establishes legislative policy subscribing to the use of public investment programs for the purpose of influencing the course of economic events. By 1951 annual federal expenditures for water resource programs alone had quadrupled the highest pre-war expenditure for this purpose. In this setting natural resources policy has taken on renewed urgency and new aspects.

Indicative of the importance of the subject in postwar years is the number of studies, official and unofficial, dealing with natural resources and government. The year 1955 added

its quota of significant contributions to this contemporary problem.¹ Four of these studies are the subject of this essay.

The Four Studies

OF THESE FOUR, Wengert's study presents a philosophical foundation for an understanding of the nature of resources policies and the processes by which they are formulated which is unique among studies of the comprehensive resources problem. Although philosophical, *Natural Resources and the Political Struggle* is by no means theoretical. In describing the role of the political struggle in shaping resources policies the author draws upon observations of how policy-forming processes do and must operate in a democratic society.²

In the resource policy field, according to Wengert, there is a tendency to rationalize proposed actions in scientific terms and to cite the authority of science as justification of particular policies. Yet the basic problems of policy stem from conflicts between groups with interests in different values to be derived from a proposed resource action.

The questions, for instance, of where a dam could be built, how large it could be, and how much power it might produce are technical questions in the proper domain of the scientist. But the questions of when the dam shall be built, how its power shall be used, who shall pay for the structure and how much require policy decisions based on values and beliefs as well as technical data, and the political process is peculiarly suited to making this type of choice. (p. 4)

So natural resources policy today is derived not only from a struggle between "scientists and intellectuals whose object largely has been to convert the public and the politician to a

recognition of the importance and significance of the results of science," but between groups with different economic and social interests, different values and different aspirations. "... group activity in the resource area is directly, deliberately, and openly tied to public agencies and the administrative process." (p. 8) Thus the content and direction of public policy is a product of the struggle between groups to obtain positions of influence and command points of decision-making. It is a premise of Wengert's study, therefore, that "... policy itself is pluralistic, meaning that there now is no single all-embracing resource policy and that to hope for it is futile." (p. 13)

Few who have studied the historical development of natural resources policy with a view to understanding motivations behind it will dispute the pluralistic characteristic of existing policy. On the other hand, many may challenge Wengert's view of futility with regard to the future. However, he has made a significant contribution in providing a realistic philosophy of natural resources policy.

Such an understanding of the nature of the political process in natural resource policy is unfortunately lacking in most recommendations for improvements in government administration. For instance, although the Hoover Commission recognizes that "the most difficult problem of water resources development is the balancing of interests, demands, and responsibilities of individuals, local groups, States, and the Federal Government," (I, 11) the commission tends to assail inconsistent policies and agency conflicts as "undirected chaos" which could be set to rights so easily if only responsible, well-meaning men in Congress would enunciate a coordinated national policy, and the Executive would knock a few heads together. Were we to recognize that disputes about such prosaic matters as administrative forms and procedures often reflect group efforts to gain access to and control of points in the hierarchy where critical decisions are made, proposals for resolving problems of natural resources policy and administration might be approached more fundamentally. Often recommendations to clothe the expert—economist, scientist, or engineer—with coordinating authority and proposals for "nonpartisan" com-

¹ Earlier ones are The President's Water Resources Policy Commission report, 1950; The President's Materials Policy Commission report, 1952; policy declarations on natural resources by the Chamber of Commerce of the United States, 1953; report of the Mid-Century Conference on Resources for the Future, Washington, D. C., December 1953.

² In this sense he applies to the field of natural resources the approach of David B. Truman, *The Governmental Process* (Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1951); Bertram M. Gross, *The Legislative Struggle* (McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1953); and Charles M. Hardin, *The Politics of Agriculture* (Free Press, 1952).

missions for policy coordinating roles within the executive branch miss this significant point about the nature of policy and the process of its formulation.

The studies of the governmental commissions express little of the governmental philosophy on which their conclusions and recommendations are based. Yet in many cases their divergences in philosophy glare through their curtain of pragmatism.

The Hoover Commission report is the product of the deliberations of a 12-member bipartisan commission based upon a three-volume report prepared by a 26-member task force composed of prominent engineers, lawyers, and business executives and assisted by some 50 full- and part-time staff members. Its first 40 pages are devoted to the magnitude of the water problem, to problems "common to all branches of water development," and to proposals for an over-all water policy and organization. Separate parts of the report on reclamation and irrigation, flood control, navigation, and power, including detailed questions of financial computations, constitute the remaining 84 pages of the first volume.

The narrow orientation with which the commission apparently viewed many of the complex problems of water development may partially be a reflection of the predilections of the members of the commission and its task force (as charged in the dissent by Commissioner Holifield), but it also reflects the narrow policy channels in which the commission was directed by the law creating it. In this law Congress charged the commission to recommend, among other things, methods and procedures for reducing expenditures, elimination of duplication and overlapping functions, consolidation of similar services, activities, and functions, abolition of functions "not necessary to the efficient conduct of government," and the elimination of nonessential functions "which are competitive with private enterprise." Thus it is clear that the philosophical foundation on which the Hoover Commission was to build was to a degree predirected.

Apparently several of the commissioners found "competition with private enterprise," and "efficiency," as such, unsatisfactory criteria for the kind and extent of governmental en-

deavor, and the "political struggle" was projected into the commission itself. So violent was the struggle that the second volume of the commission's report, constituting 94 pages, is entirely devoted to the dissents of commission members. A review devoted solely to this volume would be enlightening. The principal dissenter, Commissioner Holifield, makes twenty specific charges occupying some 80 pages. In general he charges that the commission exceeded its jurisdiction; that its report on water and power is based upon the investigations of a task force "mainly inspired by preconceived ideas and personal predilections"; that the report of the commission "could have been prepared in a few weeks with a small professional staff, at a fraction of the \$430,000 expended. . ." for the 26-member task force "which traveled around the country in the name of the Commission, holding hearings. . . and amassing volumes of studies, merely to document preconceived ideas" (pp. 10-11); and that the report is full of inconsistencies in its conclusions and recommendations, of which the commissioner cites frequent examples. Many of the specific charges deal with details of power policy which Commissioner Holifield declares were inspired by the public utilities and railroads.

Regardless of the validity of the commissioner's charges, students of resources administration will find in the Hoover Commission's report a dearth of documentation, reasoning, or even explanation for some of the far-reaching conclusions and recommendations presented. This is particularly to be regretted in view of the extensive staff work which was obviously associated with the study.³ In short, those who expected from the Hoover Commission a comprehensive, documented, and sophisticated study and consideration of contemporary water problems in relation to government will be disappointed. On the other hand, this report will serve as the subject of many debates between those who can cite the authority of the commission to support their own position on specific issues and those of opposite position

³ The report of the Task Force on Water Resources and Power, in three volumes comprising 1789 pages, is available from the U. S. Government Printing Office. Volume III contains a compilation of reports by the various special study consultants.

who can cite the inconsistencies and partial considerations as evidence of the inadequacy of the commission's study.

The President's Advisory Committee on Water Resources Policy, composed of the Secretary of the Interior as chairman, the Secretary of Defense, and the Secretary of Agriculture, worked for eighteen months with the assistance and participation of other executive agencies in the preparation of the report, *Water Resources Policy*. The President's letter creating the committee stated his desire "... that this administration furnish effective and resourceful leadership in establishing national policies and improving the administrative organization needed to conserve and best utilize the full potential of our water resources." (p. v) To realize this desire the committee was requested to review all aspects of water resources policy and make recommendations "... for the strengthening, clarification, and modernization of water policies, together with a suggested approach to the solution of organizational problems involved. . . ." (p. v) Nothing in the report indicates the methods or personnel employed in conducting the study.

An objective review of this report must conclude that, for an "inside job," it presents remarkably forthright, objective, and constructive considerations and proposals. In a succinct, well-organized document it considers in eight successive sections the major questions involved in water resource development: (1) collection and evaluation of basic data; (2) planning for use and development of water resources; (3) board of review for water resources; (4) federal, state, and local relationships with reference to the use and control of water; (5) priority of use of water; (6) evaluation of water resources projects; (7) authorization of projects; and (8) participation in costs.

That this report could achieve what to this reviewer it seems to have achieved, namely a progressive step toward a satisfactory basis for action, is no doubt owing in large measure to the fact that it has built upon studies and experience which have preceded it. Apparently the Presidential Advisory Committee focused its major attention on sifting out those things which were acceptable from such earlier studies as the first Hoover Commission report (1949),

the President's Water Resources Policy Commission report (1950), and the report of the Missouri Basin Survey Commission (1953). The significance of the present report may lie primarily in the fact that in general it represents the areas of agreement organized into a consistent whole. Probably its critics will attack its omissions more than its proposals.

The Study Committee on Natural Resources and Conservation of the Commission on Intergovernmental Relations was naturally oriented to the problems of federal-state-local relations in natural resources programs. It was composed of twelve "public spirited citizens" with "varied experience and differing views on the subjects examined." The report is the product of the "individual study on the part of the Committee members," who spent ten days in committee deliberations. Views of "... some 320 State and Federal agencies, chambers of commerce, trade associations, and conservation, wildlife, farm, and other organizations interested in natural resources" were solicited as a basis for committee study.

Two chapters of the five-chapter report deal with specific programs of grants-in-aid to forestry and to fish and wildlife, respectively. In addition, the Study Committee makes general recommendations regarding the functions of different levels of government in research, recreation, and stream improvement. It also proposes the creation of two new commissions, one to study public land ownership and another to study problems of urban land and water use.

Of greater interest to the subject of this review are the Study Committee's general policies recommendations relating to basinwide development of water resources, the role of the states in proposed federal projects, and the establishment of a board of coordination and review and of state natural resource advisory councils. In these broader areas the Study Committee's considerations suffer from its failure to view the whole problem of government in natural resources, rather than merely the problem of expanding state and local participation.

These four studies cover a wide variety of problems and issues relating to natural resources and government. In one way or another they span the subject from broad generalizations regarding the philosophy of government

to many specific technicalities of engineering, economics, and government organization. Consideration of the many specific issues covered is beyond the bounds of this review. The remainder of this essay, therefore, will review these four documents with respect to three general issues of special significance to resources administration: the role of government in natural resources matters; the problem of choosing patterns of government investment in natural resources development; and the organization of government for natural resources activities.

Government's Role in Natural Resources

FUNDAMENTAL to all issues of natural resources policy is the question of the appropriate role of government in influencing resource development and use. As long as natural resources appeared to be plentiful and the public willingly accepted the belief that entrepreneurial investment would promote the most economical development pattern, government gave little attention to the process of resources allocation and its effects upon the economy. Wengert, in developing this theme, points out that during the first quarter of the century public programs relating to resources were particularistic and generally uncoordinated. They stressed research, education, reservation, protection, and a minimum of regulation. Except for the efforts of the early conservation movement, little attempt was made at synthesis, or at establishing basic, integrated policy goals.

However, as a result of depression and of the materials requirements for war, defense, and midcentury prosperity, the American people have gradually changed their attitudes about natural resources and government's role in their development and use. The public has sensed the threat of resource limitations and has come to question the validity of the doctrine that free competition in private enterprise will harmonize private and public interests. In addition, the people in general have become aware of the interdependence of the public and private sectors of the nation's economy and have accepted the exercise of governmental powers to encourage the maintenance of an active economy.

In the current resources situation, Wengert sees definite limitations to natural resources

policy which takes an atomistic view of resources and of government's interest in them and which leaves each segment of the economy free and independent to pursue its own interest. Increasingly, it has become clear that an economy operating entirely automatically does not always allocate resources in the long-run public interest; often it incurs in its operation social costs which in time devolve upon the general taxpayer.⁴ Consequently, governmental processes have increasingly been called into play to give guidance to resource development and use.

In accepting a responsibility to participate in resource decisions, government is basically faced with two approaches: (1) regulation of the actions of private enterprise and (2) supplementing entrepreneurial efforts by public investment. Federal regulatory action is limited; consequently, much proposed federal action is directed to encouraging the states to exercise their regulatory powers better. This is illustrated by current federal policy regarding stream pollution and forest-cutting practices. Other indirect methods of influencing resource development and use can be and are employed by the federal government. They include the adjustment of tax and interest rates, provision of credit, leadership in research, and the supplying of technical and financial assistance.

Since the war direct federal expenditures for resource development have doubled, tripled, and quadrupled. This growth in expenditures reflects the recognition of two basic factors in the contemporary natural resources situation: (1) realization that full utilization of our resources often requires investments of a size and extending over a period far exceeding the capacity or willingness of private investors; and (2) recognition that in the complexities of today's society and economy there are costs and benefits associated with resources development which are implicitly and appropriately "public" as a part of the goal of "the wisest use, for the greatest numbers, for the longest time."

Governmental investments in resources development influence resource allocations and

⁴ This point is well developed by K. William Knapp, *Social Costs of Private Enterprise* (Harvard University Press, 1950).

are potent factors in determining the nature of the economy in terms of levels and patterns of economic activity. New and stable economic opportunity for private enterprise can be created through the initiation of large, comprehensive, multiple-purpose development programs which open up to full use, on a "sustained yield" basis, the natural resources involved. Wengert concludes, and with him this reviewer would agree, that an underlying issue of natural resources policy today is "... to what extent the federal government should use its powers and finances directly to encourage development of particular resources, or, in the case of river-basin programs, of particular regions." (p. 57) Yet the question of the extent of the government's role in encouraging development and shaping its pattern is seldom explicit. Differences on this point frequently implicitly underlie specific natural resources issues. Failure to articulate one's belief with respect to government's role in resources development often results in controversies on methodology and in inconsistencies in position.

The position of the Hoover Commission on this point is difficult to determine, and apparent inconsistencies arise in some of its specific recommendations. At one place the guiding criterion of the Hoover Commission with regard to the government's role seems to be whether an activity is competitive with private enterprise; little recognition is given to "development" as a *raison d'être*. For example, the commission takes the position that private enterprise has been driven from the field of power production by federal power activities. It recommends that the federal government withdraw from power on the grounds that the original justification for federal power, i.e. the large investment required and national defense, no longer obtains. Little recognition is given to the developmental influence and private enterprise opportunities which have been created by low-cost federal power in the Tennessee Valley and the Pacific Northwest.

At the same time the second Hoover Commission, unlike the first in 1949, recognizes the national interest in subsidized irrigation projects in terms of the economic development which they induce. "Indeed these new centers of productivity send waves of economic im-

provement to the far borders, like a pebble thrown into a pond." (I, 44) Yet, again in contrast, the commission denies a federal concern with water supply development even though in many places economic development may be limited without augmented water supplies often possible only by major basinwide multiple-purpose engineering undertakings involving federal investment. Commissioners Brownell and Flemming in their dissent criticize the commission report in not meeting this problem adequately, and recognize the federal responsibility in the whole field of water development.

The concept of the President's Advisory Committee with regard to the government's role in water resource development is perhaps less distinct, but at the same time less obviously confused, than that of the Hoover Commission. The committee expresses little concern with the competitive character of federal activities. However, it appears to be governed by the old principle, "the least governed the best governed," and joins with the Study Committee of the Commission on Intergovernmental Relations in the principle that state and local action is to be preferred whenever it may be expected to give satisfactory results. We are left in the dark as to the criteria of satisfactory results. What is satisfactory is, after all, dependent upon what purpose governmental endeavor in this field is attempting to serve. State and local activity may be most satisfactory if the prime purpose is to reduce federal taxes or to avoid competition with private enterprise, and quite inadequate if the purpose (investment) is to encourage development and influence its pattern. The President's Advisory Committee avoids facing directly the fundamental question of the extent to which "development" is a purpose of governmental natural resources activities.

Choosing Patterns of Natural Resources Investments

WITH increasing emphasis upon "development," capital investment has become a major governmental tool in resources development, and a fundamental problem in public administration arises in decisions regarding the investment pattern. Through the selection of investment patterns, choices must be made

among alternative areas of development and with respect to the allocation of resources among alternative uses. Differences of opinion with regard to these choices are the source of many basic issues in natural resources policy which are often obscured by arguments about criteria and methods of testing "feasibility" of a proposed investment.

Wengert stresses the fact that the test of feasibility for public investment (i.e. what is an appropriate public investment) shifts from the single question of whether a proposed action provides efficient service to the citizenry to the added question of the extent to which the action contributes to long-range strength and growth of the economy and society. Wengert develops the point that traditional tests of desirability and feasibility are inadequate. Monetary measures of profit and loss are not adequate in judging governmental investments. Although a decision to make a public investment in resources development will obviously have an economic impact, i.e. "it will cost something; it will benefit someone; and it may injure some others," (p. 60) yet it may not always be economical or efficient in the ordinary business accounting sense. Here according to Wengert there is a need to develop a public cost-accounting system which will take into account "social costs" as well as "non-economic" benefits.

Efforts to develop systems of cost-benefit analysis have fallen short of meeting the need. Lack of uniformity among resource development agencies in the methods of estimating costs and benefits is only one of the current inadequacies of cost-benefit analysis as a basis for evaluating resource development proposals. More fundamental is the question of *what* benefits and *what* costs are justifiable components of the equation. Must all benefits and costs entering into the calculation be those directly associated with the undertaking? Must they all be reducible to monetary quantities? Obviously, the position on such questions depends largely upon one's view of the government's role in natural resources.

The President's Advisory Committee recognizes that

An evaluation requires balanced consideration of two main components: (1) an economic appraisal

of those benefits and costs which are reasonably measurable in dollar terms, and (2) adequate consideration of values not readily expressed in monetary terms. . . .

The public interest in water resources development extends over a wide range and encompasses such things as provision of economic opportunities for a growing population, strengthening the resource base upon which the economy of the Nation rests, preservation and protection of scenic areas and of fish and wildlife, protection of life and health, and many others. Many of these are only partially susceptible to monetary measurement and there is wide divergence of opinion as to their relative importance. . . . (p. 24)

In connection with many major projects there are equally important tangible and intangible detriments or damages associated with project development, such as the disruption of established communities, the inundation of valuable land and mineral resources, the disruption of local taxing units by the removal of land to a tax-exempt status, the destruction of scenic values, and adverse effects upon fish and wildlife resources. (p. 25)

The committee recognizes fully that benefits and detriments do exist, many of which are difficult of monetary measurement, that they are very real, and that they must be taken into account in determining the wisdom of proceeding with many proposed projects.

The Hoover Commission, on the other hand, neither makes a clear distinction between the two kinds of costs and benefits nor takes an explicit position with regard to the use of the "indirect costs" and "secondary benefits" and of "values not readily expressed in monetary terms." Most of the commission's discussions regarding "feasibility" are absorbed with a criticism of the experience record of underestimating costs and with the alleged overestimating of benefits resulting from efforts to attach a dollar sign to benefits not readily expressed in monetary terms. One is left with the feeling that the commission would put the entire test of feasibility upon a precise monetary cost-benefit ratio. In contradiction, however, with regard to irrigation the commission recognizes justification in utilizing secondary benefits of regional development as a basis for project justification.

In order to assure consistency in the application of cost-benefit analysis, the commission calls upon the Congress to "provide more

realistic criteria for such calculations," but makes no suggestions as to appropriate standards and criteria. The President's Advisory Committee, on the other hand, makes several specific recommendations designed to place project evaluation on a more rational basis, including questions of price levels, taxes, the period over which costs and benefits should be calculated, the relation of incremental purposes and projects to the total project, and the conditions under which secondary benefits should be used in justifying investments.

Regardless of improvements in uniformity and accuracy of a monetary cost-benefit analysis, it still is an important tool in judging the validity of public investment in resource development. As recognized by the President's committee, the benefits (and the costs) "not readily expressed in monetary terms" are vital components of feasibility calculations. At present these defy incorporation into a specific cost-benefit ratio. Recognizing this, the President's Water Resources Policy Commission of 1950 recommended the use of an investment appraisal statement, to include not only the monetary cost-benefit ratio but also a subjective statement of the nonmonetary advantages and disadvantages to be expected from a proposed action.⁵ Although the current President's Advisory Committee does not go as far as to endorse specifically the investment appraisal statement, it would appear to agree with this approach to project evaluation.

In addition to the problem of nonmeasurable benefits and costs, Wengert points out that "... both experience and practice with respect to cost-benefit calculations are somewhat tangential to the real problem of federal investment policy, since they concentrate on the microcosm of particular projects and never really deal with larger questions of national interest." (p. 63) He refers to the problems of alternative investment opportunities (could the same funds produce greater public benefits if invested for other purposes?) and of establishing priorities among investment opportunities in any given fiscal period. These are pervading aspects of the problem which are not recognized by the governmental studies. It is Wengert's thesis that these overriding ques-

tions of public policy in resource development which are not now subject to the absolutes of rational analysis must be resolved through "the political struggle" for some time to come. He would undoubtedly agree with conclusions of the Mid-Century Conference on Resources for the Future that economic evaluation of resource development proposals is a tool to help select the most fruitful undertakings. But "... it is an imperfect tool: it should be sharpened to cut finer measurements of benefits—national and local—and it should not be dulled to blur public understanding of benefits, costs, and subsidies involved."⁶

Organization for Resources Development

NATURAL resources administration provides many illustrations of the interactions between management and organization, and program and policy.

... Disputes over organizational forms have not only involved questions of utility but also important issues of program direction and scope. ...

... Attempts to resolve these conflicts have often reflected basic policy differences and represented efforts to gain advantage for one position in the guise of administrative coordination. (Wengert, p. 42)

Recognition of this basic interrelationship between policy and administration is vital to a consideration of all proposals for reorganization and coordination.

Early attention to reorganizing federal resource activities was largely directed to a functional rationalization of Washington organization. These proposals usually involved some consolidation of the functions of various agencies. The most far-reaching came from the first Hoover Commission's Task Force on Natural Resources and the minority report of the commission, both of which recommended a new department of natural resources. More recent studies,⁷ approaching the problem more directly from the point of view of the require-

⁵ *The Nation Looks at Its Resources; Report of the Mid-Century Conference on Resources for the Future (Resources for the Future, 1953), pp. 174-75 (Chairman's Summary on Water Resource Problems).*

⁷ President's Water Resources Policy Commission report, 1950, and The Missouri Basin Survey Commission report, 1953.

⁶ *A Water Policy for the American People, Vol. I, p. 64.*

ments to do the job, have given less importance to a department of natural resources and greater emphasis to designing administrative machinery to provide coordination among existing resource agencies. With the emphasis upon coordinating machinery, attention to regional coordination and river basin planning and coordination has at times dominated organization thinking.

The studies under review in general follow the trend to seek devices providing coordination of existing agencies. The President's Advisory Committee is perhaps most definitive. It passes off quickly its consideration of a single resource department as leaving basic problems unsolved and advances the guiding principle with which few will disagree that planning for the beneficial utilization of water resources "must be a cooperative effort participated in by all the Federal agencies involved, the States, local governments, and private citizens included within the area under consideration." (p. 14) Effective application of such a principle requires administrative form and procedure to foster cooperative planning and at the same time facilitate responsible decision-making. There are two separate but related aspects to such an administrative structure: concern with coordinating the federal agencies involved and concern with cooperation between levels of government and with harmonizing their interests.

Unlike the other commissions whose reports are under review, the President's Advisory Committee faces some of the hard facts of life in applying its principle to these aspects of the problem—particularly to the intergovernmental one. The Study Committee on Natural Resources, on the other hand, is less than provocative when it recommends

... that States and local agencies have a major voice in determining the necessity or advisability of water development projects proposed by the Federal Government, and that comments submitted by State and local agencies be given serious consideration by the Federal agencies and the Congress. . . .

... [and] that, prior to authorization of a project by Congress, a definite attempt be made to harmonize any differences of opinion that may exist between the States and the Federal Government. (p. 9)

With this "hope and prayer" few would dissent. But considering the political struggle inherent

in resources issues and the diffused character of administrative responsibility in both federal and state governments, can this recommendation be a basis for specific organization action? Many will welcome the forthright statement of the President's Committee regarding the frequent inadequacy of state organization to participate effectively in the kind of partnership which the Intergovernmental Study Committee seeks, and will laud the recommendation that

... both the executive and legislative branches of the various State governments give serious consideration to providing administrative and financial machinery by which at least a moderate staff can be employed on a continuing basis to participate at all stages of water resources planning. Only by general participation from the beginning of planning can the charge of Federal domination and the faults thereof be eliminated. . . . (p. 15)

Granted adequate administrative facilities on the part of states, organization for resources development presents two equally complex components. The first is the character of regional organization which will provide field coordination of federal agencies and a vehicle for harmonizing federal, state, and local interests in a regional development proposal. The second is the organization and procedures at Washington for coordinating the over-all policies and programs involved and for harmonizing regional programs with related national policies and programs. Reorganization proposals of the governmental studies under review are directed to these two problems in varying degrees.

The second Hoover Commission, like the first, gives little definitive attention to the regional problem. Although it declares as one of nine points in a proposed national water policy "that water resources development should be generally undertaken by drainage areas . . ." and recommends the establishment of a water resources board ". . . which would set up . . . basin commissions to fairly represent the Federal, State, and private interests," it gives little guidance as to functional and procedural relationships. The President's Committee, however, presents comprehensive and definitive recommendations for meeting the regional problem which are conceptually integrated with its proposals for Washington organization. Its recommendation for regional

water resources committees composed of representatives of each federal resource agency and each state appears to be a rather direct descendant of the President's Water Resources Policy Commission's (1950) recommendation for river basin commissions.

Those who have been associated with the evolution of federal water resources development may also recognize in the regional water resources committees an effort to correct the more obvious deficiencies in the existing powerless interagency river basin committees. The proposal to give these committees the responsibility to "prepare and keep up to date a comprehensive plan which will best serve the region and the Nation in the development of water and related land resources . . . [and to] recommend an annual work schedule to be reflected in the budget requests of each cooperating agency" (p. 17) is a first step, at least, in giving such committees specific responsibilities in the process of regional resources development. In addition, the provision for an independent chairman appointed by the President and administratively responsible to the Executive Office of the President will go a long way toward placing administrative responsibility for the regional committees' actions.⁸

Those looking for uncompromised administrative responsibility will be disappointed with the suggestion of the President's Committee that the number of representatives on these committees is immaterial, "since the conflicts should be resolved by cooperation and not by voting strength." (p. 17) At this point Wengert reminds us that

. . . the governmental process in a democracy is properly characterized by conflict, by struggle for favorable decisions. And the process of administrative decision requires choices among interests. Hence, arrangements which only deal with areas of agreement, which ignore conflicts and refuse to face up to consequences, are not adequate to the tasks of resource administration. (p. 47)

The recommendations of the President's Committee, unlike those of the Hoover Com-

mission and the Intergovernmental Study Committee on Natural Resources, make clear organizational distinctions between the kinds of functions required at the Washington level. The President's Committee proposes the creation of an interagency committee on water resources composed of a principal policy-making official from each federal agency concerned with resource development. This committee, headed by a coordinator of water resources in the President's Office, to whom the chairmen of regional water resources committees report, would be responsible for the coordination of the interrelated functions of the several agencies and would advise the President on policy and program matters. Its authority to determine finally "interagency relationships" is, however, again compromised by the necessity of "unanimous action."

The strength of the interagency committee and coordinator depends largely upon the performance of the coordinator, who, in addition to serving as chairman of the committee, would (1) cooperate with the Bureau of the Budget and the Council of Economic Advisers in the evaluation of departmental requests for appropriations; (2) assist in the reconciliation of water resources policy with other federal policies; (3) work with the coordinator of public works planning toward a successful long-range program of water resources developments as a part of long-range public works planning; (4) take the lead in establishing principles, standards, and procedures to be used by the federal agencies in planning and development of water resources programs and projects; and (5) prepare for the President an annual report on the development of the nation's water and related land resources. At least in the last of these five functions he has sole responsibility and can never excuse inaction on failure of others to cooperate! But with respect to his other functions, like most coordinators, his success will depend upon his skill in persuasion.

The Hoover Commission would place the responsibility for recommending "broad policies" and for devising "methods of coordination of plans and actions of the agencies at the Washington level and in the field" upon a water resources board. This board would be composed of "the Cabinet Members" (now composing the Interagency Committee) and five public members, and would be presided over

⁸ These positive characteristics appear to be patterned after the experience of the Field Committees-Program Staff arrangements developed in the Department of the Interior from 1947 to 1953. See Norman Wengert and John C. Honey, "Program Planning in the U. S. Department of the Interior, 1946-53," 14 *Public Administration Review* 193-201 (Summer, 1954).

by a "non-Government chairman." One wonders how a non-Government chairman can improve governmental responsibility! Whereas the first Hoover Commission accepted the recommendations of its Task Force on Public Works for a board of impartial analysis composed of "sea-green incorruptibles of the engineering profession" to review and report "on the public and economic value of project proposals," the 1955 Hoover Commission apparently prefers to turn this task over to the Bureau of the Budget and recommends that its staff be strengthened so as "to fully perform the function of evaluation of the merits of water development projects. . . ." (p. 39) The Commission's water resources board possesses the dubious quality of being neither fish nor fowl. It is not an objective board for the feasibility review of proposals from eager bureaucrats, nor can it be an effective instrument of executive coordination since it attempts to divest itself of "government" leadership.

The President's Committee, however, follows the first Hoover Commission in recognizing that a board of review "to provide completely expert advice on the engineering and economic feasibility of proposed projects . . . would be widely supported," and recommends that such a board be established consisting of "three well-qualified . . . engineers, economists or others of recognized abilities and judgment in the resources field." (p. 19) The President's Committee follows through with definitive recommendations on the position and role of such a board. It would report to the President through the coordinator of water resources, and would exercise the following functions: (1) evaluate reports on water resources projects and programs; (2) recommend to the coordinator modifications considered desirable; (3) recommend to the coordinator changes in criteria for water resources projects; and (4) advise on any other matters submitted to it by the President or coordinator. Little doubt is left that the board of review is there to serve the President and the coordinator.

The idea of some kind of "board of review" has perhaps been the most common element in all recent proposals relating to federal structure for resource coordination. However, the concepts of its functions and authorities

are as varied as the number of proposals. There is always the tendency to create a "top-level" board or commission to solve any vexing problem without sharply delineating the kinds of procedures in which such a body can effectively participate, the scope of its authority, or its relations with other cognate activities. Certainly many proposals for some kind of a "board of review" suffer from this deficiency. The first Hoover Commission proposed a board of impartial analysis to review and report on the public and economic value of projects and periodically to review authorized projects and advise as to progress or discontinuance. Such a sketchy charter left many organizational questions unanswered and led to extensive controversy within the federal establishment as to its precise role and functions. The current Hoover Commission, as described above, errs in this respect to a slightly less degree.

The Intergovernmental Study Committee on Natural Resources proposes some new ideas for a "board of review." It would create a board of coordination and review in the Office of the President "as a means of improving relationships with the States and increasing the efficiency of Federal activity in the fields of water development and flood control." (pp. 9-10) Composed of nonpartisan appointees of the President (confirmed by the Senate) who would serve for staggered terms, this board would review all projects involving federal participation and recommend to the President

. . . the extent of Federal interest and the action that should be taken with respect to the proposals, including the allocation of costs to participating agencies on the basis of prospective benefits. . . .

. . . The function of the board would be what its name implies—to make sure that plans for all water-resource projects involving Federal participation are adequately reviewed and the activities of participating agencies effectively coordinated before their submission to the President. (p. 10)

Although further definition of the board's role is lacking, the Intergovernmental Study Committee on Natural Resources apparently would vest in its board of coordination and review not only the coordinating function which the President's Committee spells out in considerable detail for the interagency com-

mittee and the coordinator, but also a function not recognized in other proposals. This board would receive from the states requests for federal assistance in water resources projects, and with the aid of federal resource agencies would review such requests and report to the states its findings as to feasibility, the extent of federal interest, and the terms of federal participation. Upon concurrence of the state or states involved, the board would request authorization of and appropriation from the Congress for the project. Obviously such a board in the federal structure poses many questions. One of these is its authority with respect to "findings of feasibility" and the relation of such findings to feasibility determinations of existing agencies as required by law. The President's Committee appropriately views its board of review as performing only advisory functions in this regard. Another question raised by the recommendation of the Study Committee on Natural Resources is the

board's authority with respect to appropriation requests and the relation of that authority to the existing budget responsibility of operating agencies. These fundamental questions are not faced by the Study Committee.

Clearly a solution to the problem of providing appropriate yet effective coordination at "the summit" is yet to be found. A satisfactory solution can only come from a thorough recognition of the "ecology of government." Only when all the interrelationships and interactions of governmental processes are viewed as a dynamic whole will sustained progress in solving this problem be achieved. Until that millennium, the recommendations of the President's Committee, built as they are upon the foundation of earlier intensive studies and upon an intimate knowledge of the practical realities, represent a progressive step which should be lauded by students and officials in government concerned with resources administration.

County Government in Transition

By William N. Cassella, Jr., Government Affairs Foundation, Inc.,
and National Municipal League

THE GOVERNMENT OF METROPOLITAN MIAMI, by Public Administration Service, 1954. Pp. 194. \$5.00.

AN URBAN HOME RULE CHARTER FOR ALLEGHENY COUNTY. A Report of the Metropolitan Study Commission of Allegheny County, 1955. Pp. 296. \$5.00. Multilithed.

THE GOVERNMENT OF DALLAS COUNTY, TEXAS, by John M. Claunch. Southern Methodist University Press, 1954. Pp. 217. \$4.00.

THE GOVERNMENT OF MILWAUKEE COUNTY, A CONCLUDING REPORT, by Public Administration Service, 1956. Pp. 95. Mimeographed.

FINAL REPORT OF DEKALB COUNTY LOCAL GOVERNMENT COMMISSION. Supplemented by Report on the Governments of DeKalb County and the Municipalities Therein, by Griffenhagen and Associates, 1954. Pp. 9, 114.

REPORT OF THE COMMISSION TO STUDY THE STRUCTURE OF BALTIMORE COUNTY GOVERNMENT. Johns Hopkins Press, 1954. Pp. 64.

PROPOSED HOME RULE CHARTER FOR BALTIMORE COUNTY, MARYLAND with Reporter's Notes and Index. Charter Board of Baltimore County, 1955. Pp. 203.

METROPOLITAN METAMORPHOSIS, THE STORY OF THE CHANGE OF ST. LOUIS COUNTY, MISSOURI FROM A RURAL TO AN URBAN AREA, by M. Eugene Baughman. St. Louis County Planning Commission, 1955. Pp. 126. Multilithed.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT IN KENT COUNTY, by League of Women Voters, Grand Rapids, Michigan, 1955. Pp. 50.

THE PROBLEM OF GOVERNMENT IN LEON COUNTY, by Penrose B. Jackson, James J. Flannery, and Fred Bair, Jr. Bureau of Governmental Research and Service, School of Public Administration, Florida State University, 1955. Pp. 126. \$1.00.

EVIDENCE is steadily mounting which demonstrates the obsolescence of a general legal theory characterizing the county simply as a

quasi-corporation. In many places the status of the county as a "body corporate and politic" has been explicitly stated by statute or charter. In others it has been assigned more and more municipal-type functions. In still others it has become or is becoming in various ways an instrumentality of metropolitan government.

Whenever the structure of county government has been modified to meet new demands it becomes increasingly similar to that of cities, with particular emphasis placed upon a strengthened executive and a more adequately representative legislative body.

What seems to be called for is a systematic general reappraisal of the present and potential role or roles of the county in the light of developments of the last two decades.¹ Many descriptive articles and monographs and various official and unofficial reports present important fragments of the total picture. However, an adequate understanding of just what has happened or is happening to counties is impossible because of the lack of comparative studies and an adequate analysis of the factors which are responsible for what appears to be the changing status of the county.

A review of the recent literature on county government underscores the fact that it is impossible to make blanket generalizations about the role of the modern county. It would be equally dangerous to assume, on the one hand, that the county is universally an archaic unit of government ill suited for an expanding role or, on the other, that problems of local government in modern metropolitan areas can be solved satisfactorily in all states by strengthening county government. The truth is that much of the confusion which surrounds the role of county government is the result of the failure to develop adequate distinctions between various types of counties. Even in individual states it is increasingly difficult to talk about the typical county. Of course, there are

urban and rural counties, but there are also important dissimilarities among the urban counties.

The studies and reports included in this review have been selected to illustrate the different types of urban counties. For purposes of this review it is possible to use the following rough classification: (1) large urban counties containing a large central city and all or a major part of the populous fringe area, (2) "suburban" counties with large urban population adjacent to the central city of a metropolitan area, (3) counties with one central urbanized area of moderate size containing the bulk of the county's population and a number of small urban clusters scattered through the rural parts of the county.

Urban Counties as Metropolitan Governments

IF THE recommendations resulting from two of the most important recent metropolitan surveys are accepted, the county in the Miami and Pittsburgh areas will become a significant instrumentality of metropolitan government.

Public Administration Service concludes in its report, *The Government of Metropolitan Miami*, that

1. A metropolitan government is needed—a government created by and deriving its authority from the people of Dade County as expressed in a home-rule charter adopted in accordance with a suitable amendment to the Constitution of Florida.

2. . . . The creation of a metropolitan government need not and should not carry with it the extinction of separate municipal governments in Dade County. Rather, local municipal government should be retained on the basis of a sound distribution of functions between them and the new metropolitan government to be created.

3. There being no need for a county government structure separate and apart from that of the proposed metropolitan government, the functions, authority, duties, and responsibilities under the state constitution and state laws now assigned to the Board of County Commissioners and other county agencies and officials, both elective and appointive, should be transferred to and vested in the new Metropolitan Miami government together with such other authority and functions as may by charter be assigned it. (pp. 87-88)

Does this mean that the county would disappear as a unit of government? It is true that

¹ There has been no comprehensive analysis of county government since those of Fairlie and Kneier in 1930 and Bromage in 1933. For the most recent general review, see Clyde F. Snider, "American County Government: A Mid-Century Review," 46 *American Political Science Review* 66-80 (March, 1952). *County Government across the Nation* (University of North Carolina Press, 1950), edited by Paul W. Wager, is a series of case studies of individual counties in each state (towns in New England) of which only four are on urban counties.

PAS rejects the idea of a single integrated metropolitan government with the elimination of all local jurisdictions except the county.

However, PAS also rejects the suggestion that Dade County be excluded from participation in municipal-type functions. The report found in the concept of metropolitan federation the fundamental intergovernmental relationship for developing its proposal.

Some aspects of the federation idea have much to commend them. By assigning to the regional government those functions of general concern to the entire metropolitan community, an area-wide approach to those functions may be attained. At the same time, individual municipal units are retained to meet the needs of the various and diverse communities found in any large metropolitan area. The principal problems to be overcome are those of balance and propriety in the allocation of functions and adequate and meaningful representation on the policy-framing body of the general governmental unit. (p. 84)

A seemingly natural unit to form the basis of federated local government is the urban county. However, in Florida as in most other states, the county as an instrumentality of the state is neither suitably organized nor suitably clothed with self-governing authority to function in the role that is called for. However, to create a metropolitan government coterminous with Dade County without at the same time assigning to it many or all of the functions performed by the county would be both unwise and self-defeating. Any adequate solution along the lines of federation must seek a merger of municipal and county functions and authority in creation of the area-wide government. (pp. 84-85)

A government of Metropolitan Miami . . . cannot be established without amending the Florida Constitution. The new government cannot be rendered substantially immune from state control and attain a desirable degree of autonomy, efficiency, and economy in the conduct of metropolitan affairs unless its powers emanate ultimately from the constitution; and only through constitutional processes is it possible to sweep away the plethora of elective officials which now clutter the metropolitan scene. That which Metropolitan Miami needs, therefore, and that which it must have, is a grant of authority by the constitution to institute home rule. Under such a grant of authority the people of Metropolitan Miami could determine, through adoption of a home-rule charter, the form, functions, and powers of their government. (p. 106)

The problem of governmental structure receives specific attention.

The primary legislative and policy making authority of the metropolitan government should be vested in a Board of Metropolitan Commissioners consisting initially of a President and ten members. The President should be elected at large by the voters of Metropolitan Miami. Eight of the ten members should be elected at large from eight commissioner districts. The two remaining members should be chosen from those municipalities (Miami and Miami Beach) which in the last decennial census contained in excess of eight per cent of the total metropolitan population. It is intended that other municipalities should be able to qualify for such representation by annexing sufficient additional area and population. . . . (p. 101)

Primary responsibility for the management of administrative affairs of the metropolitan government should be vested in a Chief Administrative Officer. This official should be appointed by the Board of Metropolitan Commissioners and should serve at the board's pleasure. . . . (p. 103)

These structural changes would correct basic deficiencies which exist in most county governments and provide adequate mechanisms for both policy determination and executive management.

The Metropolitan Miami Municipal Board which was created to survey the problem of metropolitan government accepted the substance of the PAS proposals but in reducing them to legislation emphasized the fact that Dade County was not to be abolished but rather changed to meet the needs of a modern urban situation. The 1955 Florida legislature passed a constitutional amendment which authorizes Dade County to adopt a home-rule charter adequate to fulfill the new role as the central agency of a metropolitan federation. Legislation also was passed creating a Metropolitan Charter Board to draft this charter. The amendment must be approved by a state-wide vote in November, 1956, and the charter by the voters of Dade County in the same election.

Although the Metropolitan Study Commission of Allegheny County employed a very different survey technique and procedure, its ultimate recommendations bear a marked similarity to those made in the Miami report. Its final report, *An Urban Home Rule Charter for Allegheny County*, begins with this statement:

As a result of its study, the Commission has concluded that **THE MANY PROBLEMS FACING ALLEGHENY COUNTY ARE NOT LIKELY TO BE MET EFFECTIVELY BY A SINGLE PROGRAM OR PLAN**, regardless of the ingenuity of the individual or group preparing that plan. (p. 9)

... the Commission recommends the transfer of a number of significant functions to the County which it feels can be administered most effectively and adequately on an area-wide basis. The Commission also concludes that the present structure of County government, designed when the County was largely rural, is not equipped to handle those additional vital functions, nor could the structure be improved sufficiently under existing Constitutional provisions relating to County government in Pennsylvania.

The Commission, therefore, concludes that **THE PEOPLE OF ALLEGHENY COUNTY, IF GIVEN A DESIRABLE DEGREE OF AUTONOMY, COULD MOLD THE COUNTY GOVERNMENT INTO A FORM CAPABLE OF PERFORMING THE NECESSARY AREA-WIDE SERVICES WITHOUT ELIMINATING THE INDIVIDUAL LOCAL MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENTS OF THE COUNTY.**

The Commission finally concludes that *WHAT ALLEGHENY COUNTY NEEDS* and that which it must have to effectively approach its many governmental problems, *IS A CONSTITUTIONAL GRANT OF AUTHORITY TO INSTITUTE AN URBAN HOME RULE CHARTER.* (pp. 9-10)

As in the case of the proposals for the Miami area, the Allegheny County report contemplates the continuation of the city of Pittsburgh and the other municipal units as the jurisdictions responsible for the provision of distinctly local functions. If the federal principle is interpreted to mean a division of functions between a central metropolitan agency and local municipal units, then the Allegheny County report like the Miami report may be considered as a variation of metropolitan federation.

The commission's report does not spell out the structure for the new county government, such as the size and basis of representation of its governing board or the nature of its executive organization. The development of the exact organizational arrangement is assigned to a special charter commission which will be appointed when the necessary constitutional amendment has been passed.

The report, in noting the inadequacy of the

present county government for an expanded role, observes:

The existing County governmental organization does not permit the application of techniques long recognized as necessary for sound administration of urban governmental services. It lacks centralized administration responsibility and consolidates both administrative and legislative responsibility in the same persons. (p. 45)

Sound governmental administration practices require that the direction of administrative activities of government should be assigned to a chief executive or administrative officer. Legislative activities should be concentrated in a separate body for that purpose, which is sufficient in number to adequately represent their constituency.

Unfortunately, such a division of legislative and executive responsibility is not possible for County governments under our present State constitution. Its provisions relating to County organization are geared to counties of a rural character while Allegheny County has for some time been primarily urban. (p. 46)

Both the Miami and the Pittsburgh reports suggest the possibility of interim measures whereby the county might accommodate certain additional functions prior to reorganization under home rule charters, authorized by constitutional amendment.²

The survey procedure employed by the Metropolitan Study Commission of Allegheny County resulted in more detailed recommendations regarding specific functions than the Miami report. Ten study committees reviewed related governmental activities and reported their findings and recommendations to the commission as a whole. These functional inquiries resulted in some thirty-one reports which are summarized in the published report. Both reports detail the proposed division of functional responsibility between the metropolitan or county government and the municipalities. Since this division of responsibility between these two levels of local government is the fundamental feature of both reports, their similarity in this condition is particularly significant. In both, the importance of a reorganized county as the unit for providing area-wide functions is clearly emphasized. The

² A county health unit and a countywide library system have been established in Allegheny County since the commission filed its report.

county would become a genuine metropolitan government.³

Government of Urban Counties

The Government of Dallas County, Texas, by John M. Claunch, describes the organization and functions of one of the most rapidly growing counties in the nation. It demonstrates how the role of the county government has been affected by urbanization and how the relationship between the county and municipal governments is the crucial question in determining the county's future role. It would be very useful to have many more case studies of this type. Such exploratory reports can make a genuine contribution to our understanding of the complexion of modern counties. Unlike official surveys they afford an opportunity for freer speculation and are not limited by the necessity of developing recommendations for immediate action.

In his final chapter, Claunch enumerates the defects which burden the American county system. It is hoped that this is a preview of another volume. A thoroughgoing analysis of these defects and of the various approaches used to overcome them would fill an important gap in the literature on county government. His discussion of "reconstruction and reform" contains numerous examples of "remedial devices" which have been advocated or utilized. This discussion might well be the starting point for a more extensive comparative analysis. His key conclusion is:

A less drastic but more promising device than physical consolidation is some type of intergovernmental arrangement or functional consolidation. (p. 183)

Dallas County and the city of Dallas have well-established mechanisms for the joint operation of the city-county welfare department, the city-county hospital system, and the city-county industrial school for boys. (p. 198)

Indications are that this pattern will be extended or that the county will provide more and more functions.

Claunch notes that "overshadowing all . . . expedient solutions and prerequisite to their realization is the fundamental problem of a reorientation of state-county relations."

³ See Victor Jones, "Urban Counties," 21 *Municipal Year Book*, 1954 133-39.

This reorientation of state-county relationships can be accomplished by (1) freeing the counties from constitutional rigidity; (2) the substitution of state administrative supervision and control for legislative supervision and control over county affairs; (3) a reallocation of functions between the state and county; and (4) granting the counties a measure of home rule or making available to them optional charters. (pp. 191-92)

The necessity of internal reorganization of Dallas County is also stressed. A preference for an elected county executive is indicated. The "commissioners court," the present county governing body, "should be relieved of all executive, administrative, and routine responsibility and converted into a county council of nine members . . . elected by the voters of the entire county for three-year overlapping terms. . . ." (p. 200)

After noting that the Texas constitutional provision for county home rule contains "so many restrictions and limitations" that Texas has not really authorized genuine county home rule, Claunch raises some doubts as to whether home rule is the best solution.⁴ He observes, however, that "when a country becomes so highly urbanized that it differs little from a municipal corporation some means must be found to give it more freedom in the operation and control of its local government. . . ." (p. 197)

He concludes that

. . . the most efficacious route to the revision of county government in Texas will be through the concerted efforts of the interested counties prevailing upon the legislature (1) to make available to them on a local option basis one or more optional charter plans and (2) to grant to counties general police powers comparable to those exercised by home rule cities in Texas. (p. 201)

In the concluding report of its series on the administration of government in Milwaukee County, Public Administration Service presents a brief but penetrating discussion of the county as a unit of government. It notes that justified criticism has been leveled against the county. Among the criticisms are: archaic county boundaries, difficulty in attracting superior personnel, injustice of countywide fi-

⁴ See John P. Keith, *City and County Home Rule in Texas* (Institute of Government, University of Texas, 1951).

nancing of services only to unincorporated areas, organizational structure ill adapted to sound public administration, problems occurring when the county is the unit of representation in the state legislature, and the impediments to the development of metropolitan government when the metropolitan area is split by county boundaries.

On the other hand, PAS points to the advantages of counties which are commonly possessed by no other unit of government:

1. A sizable fraction of the American public knows only the county as a unit of local government. . . .

2. Most states are too large in area and too varied in population to render their services centrally. . . .

3. It is desirable that the decentralization of state government should be combined with the administration of local government at some level. . . .

4. The alternatives to county government are by no means appealing. . . . (p. 3)

. . . in the fortunate position of being able to take advantage of many of the assets of county organization . . . free of many of the defects. . . .

1. Milwaukee County is large enough to permit economic government. . . .

2. Has a long tradition of good government and a relatively sophisticated population. . . .

3. County responsibilities extend to a variety of services that are available to urban residents. . . .

4. The deficiencies of organization have been partly compensated for by imaginative use of facilities and dedication to duty of county officials. (pp. 4-5)

5. The metropolitan area of Milwaukee does not yet extend across county lines. . . .

. . . It is not to be denied that Milwaukee County has accomplished much in filling its place in the governmental scheme of the community, and in rendering service that is considerably better than that found at the county level generally. It also is apparent, however, that this high level of performance has been achieved in spite of, rather than because of, the existing organization of the county government. It is likely that the future of the county as an effective part of government in the Milwaukee area will be jeopardized if steps are not taken to improve the organization. (p. 35)

Recommendations for both an interim and ultimate organization are included. The latter, which would require a constitutional amendment, calls for "the elimination of all elective officers except the Board of Super-

visors and the establishment of a Board-Manager form of government." Detailed recommendations are presented for the improvement of administration in all departments and offices of the county government.

An appraisal of intergovernmental relationships within the county was not within the scope of the PAS study of Milwaukee County. It should be noted, however, that the administration of a countywide park and recreation system including the Milwaukee stadium is an example of the county's role as an instrumentality of metropolitan government. The report calls for securing a definite understanding between the County Park Commission and municipal and school authorities regarding the development of neighborhood parks.

Although not among the studies included in this review, mention should be made of the various reports which describe the role of Los Angeles County, the most advanced urban county government in the United States. In reviewing the Haynes Foundation series on Metropolitan Los Angeles, Victor Jones characterizes Los Angeles County as the "senior partner" among the local governments in the area.⁵ In its studies of fringe area problems in Los Angeles and other California counties, the Assembly Interim Committee on Municipal and County Government has emphasized the importance of the urban county as a unit of modern local government, a far cry from the traditional concept which describes the county as simply an administrative subdivision of the state.⁶

Suburban Counties

ALTHOUGH DeKalb County, Georgia, includes a small part of the city of Atlanta, it is essentially a suburban county, with the greater part of its urbanized area in small municipalities and unincorporated fringe areas. The *Final Report of the DeKalb County Local Government Commission* proposed the adoption of

⁵ "Six Functions in Search of a Government," 16 *Public Administration Review* 52-59 (Winter, 1956).

⁶ See California, Assembly Interim Committee on Municipal and County Government, *Preliminary Report Covering Fringe Area Problems in the Counties of Sacramento, Napa, Kern, and Alameda* (1952), 232 pp.; *Preliminary Report Covering Fringe Area Problems in the County of Los Angeles* (1953), 120 pp.

a so-called multiple-commission form of county government with an elected county executive in order to provide a governmental framework adequate to fulfill the needs of a rapidly growing county. The commission's recommendations were based upon the findings of a survey of the governments of the county and the municipalities within its boundaries conducted by Griffenhagen and Associates.

The Griffenhagen report introduces its conclusions by noting:

As to Municipal Services: DeKalb County's growth from a primarily rural county to a primarily urban county is a relatively recent development. Much of the growth has occurred in unincorporated areas and a still greater proportion of it can be expected in these areas in the future. The county has effectively moved in to provide the necessary municipal services in these unincorporated areas, subject to certain limits upon its authority. It also furnishes specified services within all of the municipalities except Atlanta and Lithonia. . . . The most urgent requirement for a plan of improvement is a prompt and permanent determination of what governments are to furnish municipal services for the growing population and of what areas and populations they are to serve. . . . If the county is to take the place of a city government for appreciable numbers of residents in urbanized areas, its powers must be extended to permit it to render all of the types of public service needed by such residents. (p. 1)

The necessary local legislation authorizing the reorganization of DeKalb County passed the Georgia legislature in March 1956, and by an overwhelming majority the voters of the county adopted the new form of government. The wide support which the change received indicated an awareness of the importance of the role of the county in meeting the needs of the growing urban area.

Another suburban county which is currently considering the reorganization of its government is Baltimore County, Maryland. When the city of Baltimore was separated from Baltimore County in 1851 the residual county area was almost entirely rural. The situation has greatly changed in the intervening century. In presenting the *Proposed Home Rule Charter* to the voters, the Charter Board of Baltimore County noted:

Baltimore County now has an estimated population in excess of 342,500. By 1960, it is esti-

mated that the population will approach half a million people. At the present time there are only about fifteen cities in the entire United States with a larger population. Since there are no incorporated towns or municipalities in our County, it is truly one of the largest undivided political subdivisions of local government in the entire United States. Baltimore County is large enough to control its own affairs. (pp. xiv-xv)

This describes the basic situation for which the new charter has been prepared. An official commission, assigned the task of studying the organization, operation, and workings of the present system of county government in Baltimore County, reported in 1954 and recommended the drafting of a home rule charter as authorized by the Maryland Constitution. The *Report of the Commission To Study the Structure of Baltimore County Government* provided a brief statement of the basic problems which the county must face if it is to provide the level of local governmental services demanded. As in the case of other county studies, the twin points of structure and powers are both matters of great concern.

Perhaps the most crucial point emphasized by this study was the need for adequate legislative powers and machinery at the county level. The existing board of commissioners with primary responsibility for the administration of county affairs has but limited legislative power.

The county's delegation in the state legislature makes the law which governs most local matters. Maryland is one of the few states in the nation which makes extensive use of "local legislation," and this means that the County's six-man delegation in the House of Delegates and its one State Senator spend a large part of their time considering measures which apply only to Baltimore County. The County's representation at Annapolis is, in actuality, a County legislature which can prescribe the form and powers of County government in minute detail, can regulate, if it chooses, the smallest and most insignificant County affairs, and is responsible for a whole host of problems that are handled in counties in other states by local officials. (p. 17)

Even with extensive consultation between the delegation and county officials this does not present a satisfactory policy-making mechanism for an urban jurisdiction. The study commission advocated that the county board

of commissioners be enlarged and designated as the county council whether or not a home rule charter is adopted. The report also strongly recommended the creation of the post of a chief administrative officer to serve as "the chief of the executive arm of the county government." This officer would be the appointee of the county council.

The report of the study commission gave the impetus necessary for the creation of a home rule charter board and provided useful background analysis of many of the questions which the charter board needed to consider in drafting a charter.

The Proposed Home Rule Charter for Baltimore County specifically states that the county "constitutes a body corporate and politic." It makes provision for a county council of seven members, one from each of seven councilmanic districts but all elected by the voters of the entire county. The charter calls for an elected county executive who will appoint a county administrative officer. He in turn will appoint the heads of most of the county departments and offices. The departments generally correspond to those of a city government with an integrated department of public safety including fire, police, and civil defense.

The charter also provides budgetary and fiscal procedures, the merit system, and other features of any modern municipal charter.

As a document the charter holds particular interest for others with the responsibility for drafting a charter because in addition to the charter text it contains extensive reporter's notes. These notes are designed to serve three purposes: assist the voters in understanding the charter, guide officers and employees of the county charged with putting it into effect if it is adopted, and aid the "bench and bar" in construing the charter itself.

The voters of Baltimore County will vote on the adoption of the charter at the November election.

Few suburban counties present the uncluttered pattern of local government found in Baltimore County. In stark contrast is St. Louis County, the residual area remaining after the city of St. Louis separated from the county in 1876. There are now almost one

hundred incorporated municipalities in St. Louis County. *Metropolitan Metamorphosis; The Story of the Change in St. Louis County, Missouri, from a Rural to an Urban Area*, by M. Eugene Baughman, is a publication of the County Planning Commission. Its emphasis is upon physical change which has taken place in the county. However, the problem presented by the existence of ninety-six municipalities is touched upon. An admittedly preliminary and somewhat confusing formulation for a proposed federation of municipalities in St. Louis County is suggested. Although there is great merit in developing devices for effective joint action among the county municipalities, it is unfortunate when suggested means to this end seem destined to complicate further rather than to simplify the governmental pattern. A more promising approach would seem to be in continuing the process of strengthening the county government begun with the adoption of the St. Louis County home rule charter in 1950 and in expanding the programs of intergovernmental cooperation which it has encouraged.

It must be noted that modernized governments in suburban counties go only a part of the distance toward solution of metropolitan problems. However, the importance of equipping these units with responsible governments should not be minimized. In DeKalb, Baltimore, and St. Louis counties, the possibility of joint action by the central cities and adjacent suburban counties is greatly encouraged when suburban populations can deal with the central city through a virile governmental organism rather than through a multitude of small municipal units or through a headless county government of obsolete proportions.

Urban Counties of Moderate Size

IN THE eagerness to point to the role of counties in our great metropolitan centers, particularly where governmental reorganization has been effected or is proposed, it is important not to overlook the more numerous counties which are partially urbanized. They, too, have unincorporated urban fringes, are performing more and more municipal-type services, and find the structure and powers of the county government designed for a rural era

inadequate in the face of pressing urban problems. These counties are generally characterized by an urban center of substantial size and a number of urban clusters scattered through the rural sections of the county. It is hoped that preventive measures can be found so that these counties may avoid at least some of the difficulties which almost defy solution in the large urban areas. If such a hope is to be realized it will depend in large part upon an improved citizen and official understanding of the potential roles of the various units of local government. In some communities the League of Women Voters has made an important contribution toward this end. The booklet, *Local Government in Kent County*, prepared by the League in Grand Rapids, Michigan, gives a useful description of the functions performed by Kent County. It notes that the county, which was 78.7 per cent urban in 1950, is required to provide "more and more services formerly thought of as city services."

The university bureaus of public administration are called upon increasingly to assist in studies which involve the interrelationships among governmental units. Almost inevitably the relationships of the county to other local units are involved. In counties where substantial urban growth is anticipated these studies are particularly important. *The Problem of Government in Leon County*, by Penrose B. Jackson, James J. Flannery, and Fred Bair, Jr., published by the Bureau of Governmental Research and Service, School of Public Administration, Florida State University, was prepared for the Consolidation Study Commission, created by the state legislature to review governmental problems in the Tallahassee area. This report emphasizes the fact that the future role of counties of moderate size is dependent upon the adequacy of their legislative and administrative organization to meet new responsibilities.

In Conclusion

MOST of the basic questions which these studies raise in the mind of the reader come under the broad headings of intergovernmental relations and governmental structure. The obvious ones involve state-county and

county-municipal relationships. What does county home rule really mean? Can the county be at once a municipal government and an administrative subdivision of the state? Are there spheres of activity in which this dual role of the county offers a hopeful middle ground between centralized state control and local autonomy? Does a strengthened county governmental structure with clearly defined legislative and administrative responsibilities emerge as an essential first step in equipping the county for a constructive role? What are the relationships between the political party organization and the functioning of the county as a unit of local government? Some will say that artificially drawn boundaries seriously impede the usefulness of the county as an agency to meet expanded responsibilities. But are not most governmental boundaries, national, state, and municipal, equally artificial? In metropolitan areas and elsewhere the county, where it exists as a unit of government, artificial in area and archaic in structure though it may be, is facing the possibility of an expanded role and in some places already is behaving more and more like a municipal unit. We need to know much more about this change that is now taking place.

Significantly, the *Report of the Commission on Intergovernmental Relations* (U. S. Government Printing Office, 1955) states:

The intermediate position of the county between the State and municipal governments in some areas, and its position as the primary area of local government or administration in others, have steadily enlarged its importance in intergovernmental relations. It continues to serve in its traditional role as an agent of the State for law enforcement, judicial administration, the conduct of elections, and other important functions. At the same time, county governments have gradually been acquiring functions and powers of a municipal character, some of them transferred from municipalities with inadequate area and resources. The result is that in most States the responsibilities of local government are increasingly being divided between municipalities and counties. This movement has been accelerated in recent years by the fact that the National Government has found the county more convenient than the municipality as a base for a number of grant-aided programs. (p. 53)

Research Notes

Compiled by John C. Honey,
Director, Government Studies Program,
National Science Foundation

Metropolitan Government Research Project—U.C.L.A.

A three-year project in metropolitan government has recently been inaugurated at the Bureau of Governmental Research on the Los Angeles campus of the University of California under a grant from the John Randolph Haynes and Dora Haynes Foundation of Los Angeles. This project will attempt to derive criteria for arriving at analytical methods applicable to the problems of most large metropolitan areas. It is hoped that in this way tentatively feasible solutions to contemporary governmental problems of urban congestion may be reached. This study is an outgrowth of descriptive studies previously made and published by the Haynes Foundation and the bureau.

Recognizing that other research groups are studying various problems of metropolitan government, this project will not attempt to explore all possible aspects of the problem. Plans are being formulated to exchange data and observations with these groups in other parts of the United States. The resources of other specialized fields of knowledge will also be tapped by means of advisory committees

NOTE: Readers of *Public Administration Review* are invited to report items of research in progress through Research Notes. A report on any one project should not exceed 300 words and should include information on such matters as the conceptual framework of the study, its aims, tentative conclusions, anticipated uses, sources of information, principal investigators, and expected date of completion. A fuller announcement on the scope of Research Notes appeared in the Summer, 1955, issue of the *Review*.

Research Notes are compiled by three members of the staff of the National Science Foundation: Mrs. Kathryn S. Arnow, John C. Honey, and Herbert H. Rosenberg. Reports should be addressed to John C. Honey, Director of Governmental Studies, National Science Foundation, Washington 25, D. C.

composed of sociologists, economists, business experts, and persons skilled in other areas of the social sciences.

Specific objectives of this project are: (1) to develop methods of research that could be applied to most large metropolitan areas after investigation and testing; (2) to identify and analyze political and economic group interests which have either favored or opposed past efforts at metropolitan integration; (3) to determine whether the decentralization of certain governmental, business, and social organizational structures within the Los Angeles region gives evidence of need for the development of a feasible scheme of two-tier metropolitan government; and (4) to determine how functions may be divided most appropriately between metropolitan-level governments and local-level governments.

Field work will be conducted in the Los Angeles environs. Some efforts will be made to test hypotheses and conclusions in one or two other metropolitan areas to see that the situations studied in the Los Angeles area were not unique or so unusual as to invalidate the generalizations. The desired result would be the development of criteria, or acceptable alternative criteria, for popularly acceptable and administratively workable patterns of metropolitan government wherein regional and local factors would be balanced.

Staff members for the project include: Winston W. Crouch, director, Bureau of Governmental Research; Judith Norvell Jamison and Arthur S. Kitnick, bureau staff; John C. Bollens, Department of Political Science, U.C.L.A.; and Arthur J. Misner, Department of Government, Los Angeles State College. Inquiries may be directed to the Bureau of

Governmental Research, University of California, 405 Hilgard Avenue, Los Angeles 24, California.

Water Resources Research and Training Program

To test the validity and utility of certain new methods and techniques of economic, engineering, and governmental analysis, the Harvard University Graduate School of Public Administration is undertaking a three-year program of research and training in the field of water resources planning and development. The program will be carried out through a water resources seminar which will be offered to a select number of mature public servants from government water resources agencies. These individuals will also take additional courses in government, economics, engineering, geology, public health, law, and other fields and will be awarded a degree of M.P.A. upon the completion of a year's work. The program is financed by a grant from the Rockefeller Foundation and is being organized by Maynard M. Hufschmidt. The seminars will be led by Arthur A. Maass, associate professor of government, with the cooperation of faculty from the Division of Engineering and Applied Physics and the Department of Economics.

The research seminar will consider the several aspects of water resources design and operation in two river basins, the Delaware River and the Washita River in Oklahoma and Texas. These basins were selected because in each most major water problems and purposes are present and because the former reflects conditions in the industrialized East and the latter conditions in the arid and semiarid West.

The aspects of water resource design and operation to be analyzed are: (1) the reasons for government participation in water resources development; (2) the conventional methods of designing multiple-purpose water resources systems as well as other methods not currently in use; (3) the needs for the collection and analysis of basic physical data both under conventional and under other methods of water systems design as well as the problems of programming for data collection and analysis; (4) possible new engineering principles, methods, and techniques of water resource planning

or system operation and possible new advances in engineering knowledge which have utility for such planning and operation; (5) the collection, selection, and ordering of relevant economic data, the analysis of raw economic data, and consideration of conceptual problems of benefit cost analysis of water resource developments; (6) the systematic study of issues of public policy relating to water development projects; (7) legal and institutional aspects of water resource planning and operation; and (8) the applicability of the various methods of design of a water resources system to underdeveloped areas in foreign countries.

Special consideration will be given to the problems faced by the planners of water resource development projects in maximizing benefits through the use of the technique of marginal analysis. Because of the complexity of pure marginal analysis of systems with many interrelated variables, study will be directed to the use of simplified techniques such as are suggested by linear programming.

Related research efforts of such organizations as the Conservation Foundation, RAND Corporation, Resources for the Future, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, the Economics Department of the University of Chicago, and the Datamatic Corporation are being followed closely for their possible contributions to the Harvard research program.

Research in the Iranian Institute for Administrative Affairs, University of Tehran

With the objective of aiding both governmental operations and the teaching of public administration, the Institute for Administrative Affairs of Iran has undertaken three research projects in recent months. The first has been the preparation of a glossary of administrative concepts and terms for the novice Persian reader of administrative literature. The second has been a study of the financial background of various governmental institutions in Iran, with particular emphasis on the national budget. A program for the financial improvement of the Iranian government is also being prepared. The third is the development of a brief directory of the organization, functions, and responsibilities of the ministries and agencies of the government of Iran.

A new *Journal of Administrative Affairs* has

been launched with the objective of providing a vehicle for the publication of research in the field of administration.

Further information may be obtained from Hoyt Crider, Research Coordinator, Institute for Administrative Affairs, University of Tehran.

Government and Politics of New York City

A comprehensive analytical study of the government and politics of New York City will shortly begin under a grant from the Russell Sage Foundation to Wallace S. Sayre, professor of public administration, Columbia University, and Herbert Kaufman, assistant professor of political science, Yale University.

The principal objective of the study—which will culminate in a written report—will be to provide a broad view of the dynamics of government in the nation's greatest metropolis. The focus will be on the interplay of many factors in the government of the city: constitutional, legal, party, interest group, bureaucratic, financial, intergovernmental, economic, social, and other forces. A great deal of material is now available on each of these elements individually, but nowhere has a systematic, interpretive synthesis been attempted. A tentative three-year target has been set for completion of the manuscript.

Defense Studies Program, Harvard University

Graduate instruction and research in national defense policy and administration are being undertaken by the Defense Studies Program recently established in the Graduate School of Public Administration, Harvard University, under a three-year grant from The Ford Foundation.

Major effort of the program has been centered upon an interdisciplinary Seminar in Defense Policy and Administration. Participants in the 1955-56 seminar included students from Harvard's graduate schools of Law, Business Administration, Public Administration, and Arts and Sciences. With the assistance of a number of high-ranking civilian and military officials, the seminar undertook consideration of a series of public administration problems

arising out of the management of the nation's military establishment. These included budgeting and programming for military security; the job concept of service secretaries; the integration of foreign, domestic, and military policy; the organization and management of the Department of Defense and the armed services; fact-finding and other analytical aids to military policy-makers; and the communication process in the formulation of national strategy.

Corollary research for the seminar by the Harvard Defense Studies staff has been concerned with such subjects as the role of Congress in defense policy and its administration, the organizational framework for a proper civil-military balance, and the politics of national military security. Reading materials for the teaching of defense policy and administration are being developed. A textbook, a series of monographs and case studies, and a defense policy bibliography are already under way.

Defense Studies Program staff include W. Barton Leach, director; Edward L. Katzenbach, Jr., associate director; and Harry H. Ransom, research associate. Mr. Katzenbach will be director for 1956-57. The program's offices are at 2 Divinity Avenue, Cambridge 38, Massachusetts.

Problems of Presidential Transitions

The problem of achieving satisfactory transitions between administrations of the federal government following elections in which the Presidency has been won by the out-party is the subject of a project now under way at The Brookings Institution. Impetus for the project comes from recognition of the fact that, in the period between the election of a new President and his inauguration, there is possibility of drift and serious damage to the national interest.

The study has the following goals:

1. To analyze the problem of presidential transition after party overturns, noting the difficulties that seem to arise repeatedly in such situations, the new problems that have emerged in the modern presidential period, and particularly the factors that must be dealt with by incoming and outgoing administrations under contemporary circumstances;

2. To describe and compare the manner in which recent transitions actually have been managed, with special attention to the accumulation of experience, precedents, and usages applicable to future cases;

3. On the basis of this experience and presently visible trends in national politics and administration, to point out a course of action that may be necessary or helpful in achieving orderly transitions after future party overturns.

The study covers the five party overturns in the Presidency that have occurred since 1896. No attempt will be made to trace each of these five new administrations to full maturity. They will be followed through the first positive steps taken in such key areas as the control of personnel, the budget, foreign policy, military affairs, and the domestic legislative program. Emphasis will be on the Presidency, the Executive Office, and the government as a whole; the transition in the operating departments and agencies will not be studied in detail.

Brief treatment will be given to the four transitions from 1896 through 1933. These historical cases cover all of the full-party transitions (other than the most recent one) since the emergence of the Presidency in more or less modern form around the turn of the century. They will provide balance and opportunity for comparison between party situations, since there are two cases each of Republican and Democratic party change. The Truman-Eisenhower transition of 1952-53 will receive more intensive treatment. This concentration is considered appropriate since the 1952-53 transition is the only case reflecting the changes introduced by the Twentieth Amendment. Also, the most recent case is likely to be most relevant for the future. Together, the five cases are expected to provide a basis for such generalizations as it is possible to draw from recent historical experience, for clarifying the issues to be resolved, and for suggesting appropriate courses of future action.

Investigation of the earlier transitions will draw on the usual historical sources: general histories; biographies, memoirs, and papers of public figures; public documents and records; and contemporary newspaper and periodical accounts. For the Truman-Eisenhower transi-

tion, extensive use will be made of a file of newspaper clippings, government documents, and interview notes collected by Public Administration Clearing House in 1952 and 1953 and now available to The Brookings Institution. This material will be supplemented by interviews with persons who participated in the 1952-53 transition.

The project, which will take a little over a year, is being carried out by Laurin L. Henry, formerly of Public Administration Clearing House and now a research associate at Brookings. Further information can be obtained from him at The Brookings Institution, 722 Jackson Place, N.W., Washington, D. C.

Leadership Structure of an Oregon Community

An analysis of the power or leadership structure of an Oregon community has been under way at the University of Oregon as part of the larger interdisciplinary Community Study of Policy Formation financed at the university by the W. K. Kellogg Foundation and involving the Departments of Political Science, Sociology, and Education.

The study of power structure is the third phase or aspect of the Oregon project, which began during the academic year 1952-53 and has had as its broad focus the study of decision-making or policy-formation at the community level. The first phase (1952-54) dealt with social participation and analyzed the extent to which different segments of the population of Junction City, Oregon, which is being used as a laboratory, participate in the affairs of the community. The second phase (1954-55) was concerned with the deliberative process within community groups and the effect of differences in this process on the nature of decisions reached.

The third phase, for which the field work took place in 1955-56, centered on the structure of the leadership population in terms of the relationships among leaders and the various types of ties between leaders and other elements in the community. A situational concept of leadership was developed as a starting point: leadership behavior was regarded as taking place in a situation and being relative to that situation. It was also conceived of as multidimensional.

mensional—thus, it was recognized that a given kind of behavior may make for successful leadership in one area but not in another. Finally, leadership was thought of as having a series of forms: one person may raise issues, another may crystallize opinions and effect final decisions, and still another may exercise leadership by implementing decisions already reached.

In studying the structure of leadership thus tentatively defined, extensive data, including "case studies," have been gathered on the demographic characteristics, attitudes, activities, and affiliations of 70 individuals selected by a nominating and cross-checking process as "significant leaders" in the community. These materials are being analyzed for the insight they afford into such matters as the roles, place in the social structure, and interrelationships of leaders.

The data emerging from all three phases of the Oregon community study of policy formation are expected to cast light on a variety of problems in the fields of political science, sociology, and educational administration. Articles on various aspects of the study have already appeared in professional journals of education and sociology, and a monograph, *School-Community Relationships: Studies in Policy Formation*, is well under way. There has been a major concern, throughout, with the significance of various findings for educational administration. The project has been part of the larger Northwest Regional Project of the Cooperative Program in Educational Administration financed by the W. K. Kellogg Foundation.

The research team working on the Community Study of Policy Formation over the course of the past few years has included both faculty members and graduate students in the fields of political science, sociology, and education. Among those who have had primary responsibility for guidance of the project are Professor Vincent Ostrom of the Department of Political Science and Professor John M. Foskett of the Department of Sociology. Requests for further information on the publications and the details of the project should be addressed to Mr. Ostrom at the College of Liberal Arts, University of Oregon, Eugene, Oregon.

Technical Assistance in Public Administration Research, Turkey

Research of relevance to the teaching and practice of public administration in Turkey is emerging from several aspects of a broad program of technical assistance in public administration undertaken by a New York University faculty team working with University of Ankara faculty and the Turkish Ministry of Education under a three-year United States International Cooperation Administration contract, now just past the half-way mark.

Formally stated, these aspects are:

1. Assistance to the Faculty of Political Sciences of the University of Ankara in the development of curriculums, teaching materials, teaching methods, research tools, and research methods, so as to help this faculty provide a sound and rounded program of education and training for future public servants in Turkey and to provide continuing training opportunities for those already in government service.

2. Assistance to the Faculty of Law of the University of Ankara in the development of a legal and legislative research bureau looking to better knowledge of the law and the administration of the law, so as to give greater certainty to public administration and private endeavor in Turkey.

3. Provision of a public administration study, research, observation, and visitation program in the United States for selected members of the University of Ankara faculties and Turkish government administrators.

The purpose of the research phase of the program is to demonstrate research methods and encourage research activity; develop teaching materials and information for public use; and train students, government employees, and faculty.

Some of the subjects covered by joint projects in political science and public administration include: (1) a critical study of the Turkish government budget preparation process; (2) a comparative study of Turkish and American local government; (3) the administrative organization of the ministries of the Turkish government; (4) the role of the *vali* or provincial governor; (5) the role of the *kaymakam* or governor of a provincial subdivision; (6) and the

execution and control of the Turkish national budget.

A joint research committee, established in the fall of 1955 by the University of Ankara Faculty of Political Science and including two New York University faculty members, encourages, sponsors, and plans the research in public administration, public finance, and related fields. Government officials and employees, as well as faculty members and university students, participate in research projects.

The legal research phase of the program is under the aegis of the Turkish Law Institute recently established in the University of Ankara Faculty of Law. Here studies of Turkish law and legislation, comparative studies of

Turkish and foreign law, and English translations of Turkish law are under way. Work recently completed or in progress includes a comprehensive volume on the mining law of Turkey designed to serve, also, as a model for future legal publications, a Turkish legal research manual which will index all Turkish articles and books on law written within the past 20 years, and plans for a series of law reports of the Turkish Court of Cassation.

Additional details on these and other aspects of the New York University program in Turkey may be secured from Dean William J. Ronan, Graduate School of Public Administration and Social Service, New York University, Washington Square, New York, New York.

On an urban issue for millions of Americans

THE STATES AND THE METROPOLITAN PROBLEM

Government in the typical metropolitan area is a complex maze: a great many governments for each area, without coordination for the metropolis as a whole. The Council of State Governments now presents a book that will assist those who wish to transform the maze into orderly and effective government. The study portrays the problem in its past and current setting. It describes six major devices by which citizens and officials have sought to solve the problem and suggests the extent to which each can be useful. It emphasizes three approaches—the metropolitan federation, the urban county and the metropolitan special district—as offering outstanding promise. And it underlines specific means by which the states may work with local governments and organizations to produce adequate metropolitan solutions.

John C. Bollens, Director of the Study

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Personnel Executive Conference Series

The first of an intended series of Personnel Executive Conferences organized by the U.S. Civil Service Commission will be held at American University in Washington, D. C., September 12-21, with thirty top personnel officers from federal agencies, bureaus, and field establishments in attendance. The conference, which officials of the commission regard as a first step in a continuing program for improving personnel management, will operate on a work group basis, with outstanding consultants brought in from time to time.

Assistance in developing the agenda for the conference and in the preparation of written materials for use of the participants has been supplied on a contract basis by members of the staff of the National Training Laboratory in Group Dynamics which is associated with the National Education Association.

An Advisory Board of seven members—all federal employees at the Assistant Secretary level—is working closely with the commission staff on over-all plans for the conferences and the selection of personnel officers who are to be given the opportunity to attend this or later conferences. Officers selected are given leave with pay for the period of the meetings and those coming in from field establishments are reimbursed for travel and other expenses connected with attendance.

Foreign Service Institute Progress

When the so-called Wriston Committee (Public Committee on Personnel) made its report to the Secretary of State in June, 1954, one of its major recommendations was that the Foreign Service Institute should be strengthened and its training programs improved. During the following year the vacancy in the directorship of the institute was filled by the appointment of Harold B. Hoskins, a former

foreign service officer. More recently the Secretary of State has appointed a thirteen-member Advisory Committee for the Foreign Service Institute with four members from the department and nine from private and academic life. The members outside the department include Henry M. Wriston, director of the American Assembly, who was chairman of the 1954 committee, and Charles E. Saltzman, who served from June to December, 1954, as Under Secretary for Administration in the department, a special position authorized by Congress for one year only. Chairman of the committee is Under Secretary Loy W. Henderson.

Information presented to this committee recently shows that fiscal 1955-56 has been one of the institute's most active years. As many as 54 different courses have been held on a round-the-calendar basis, with registration above 5,000. At the heart of a considerably revamped program are two new three-months courses, one for newly appointed officers, the other for those in mid-career. Each was repeated several times, with 15 to 25 trainees to a group. Intensive language instruction was carried on in 28 tongues for over 800 students, using simplified methods which have been perfected at the institute through ten years of practical experience.

As in the past, the highest proportion of institute trainees were those who attended one of several types of "orientation" courses. Ranging from one half day to three weeks in length, these classes are designed to initiate new employees into the daily operations of U.S. Foreign Service posts abroad and to acquaint experienced officers with advanced political problems. Several courses were opened for the first time to wives and other members of officers' families.

Seminars on currently sensitive topics such as "Communist Strategy," "Peaceful Use of the Atom," and "Oil in the Middle East," each

from one to seven weeks duration, were repeated several times for a total of over 900 participants, drawn for the most part from the department, the Foreign Service, the technical assistance program, and the U.S. Information Agency. Functional training was offered to 60 selected employees in administration, management, and consular work. Other government agencies, notably the Air Force, continued to use the institute's training facilities for their personnel.

The institute also found it practical to assign 63 selected foreign service officers of unusual promise to well-known colleges and universities for special study so that over a longer period they might gain or perfect certain specialized skills needed by the department. Also handled by the institute is general supervision of Foreign Service training in the field, including the planned rotation of jobs, the continuation of language study, and further area specialization.

Technical Cooperation in Latin America

The National Planning Association has issued an over-all policy report, *Technical Cooperation in Latin America—Recommendations for the Future*, preparation of which has been one of the major activities of a Special Policy Committee appointed three years ago to make a comprehensive study of this subject, with financing provided by the Ford Foundation.

The study was concentrated on activities in Latin America because technical cooperation programs have been under way longer there than elsewhere and, until recent years, on a larger scale. Also, a great diversity of programs has been developed in Latin America, where programs were created under a wide variety of auspices including sponsorship by private foundations, the government of the United States, international organizations, religious groups, universities, trade unions, and business firms—each with somewhat different objectives. It was hoped that an intensive study of the experiences of the public agencies and private groups which have sponsored these programs would furnish important practical guides for technical cooperation generally.

The Special Policy Committee responsible

for this project included in its membership U.S. and Latin American leaders from agriculture, business, labor, education, health, and other fields. Chairman of the committee was Laird Bell, a senior partner of Bell, Boyd, Marshall, & Lloyd in Chicago, a trustee of NPA, and former chairman of the board of the Public Administration Clearing House. Director of research was Theodore W. Schultz, of the University of Chicago and also a trustee of NPA. Mr. Schultz and his research associates made first-hand observations in all twenty Latin American republics. Their detailed findings are presented in a number of monographs which are being published by the University of Chicago Press.

The over-all report, which was unanimously approved by the members of the committee, recommends emphatically that technical cooperation be continued for the foreseeable future by the United States, United Nations, Organization of American States, and by private U.S. groups.

Included in the report are more than 100 recommendations on policies and methods which are intended to help sponsors and participants in these programs achieve their goal of accelerated economic and social development. Among these, the committee stresses particularly the importance of long-range organizational and financial stability, and the role of nongovernmental groups in technical cooperation, not only in their own privately financed programs but also under private contracts with public agencies. Another recommendation of interest suggests that an adequately staffed technical cooperation clearing house should be established in the United States by the public agencies and private groups.

Copies of this report may be purchased from the National Planning Association, 1606 New Hampshire Avenue, N.W., Washington 9, D. C., for \$2.50. Related reports, available from the same address, are: *Organization of the United States Government for Technical Cooperation*, \$0.50; *Technical Cooperation—Sowing the Seeds of Progress*, \$0.15; *The Role of Universities in Technical Cooperation*, \$0.50; and *Administration of Bilateral Technical Cooperation*, \$1.00.

Foreign Aid Studies Planned

Indications are that the foreign aid policies and programs of the United States will be subjected to careful scrutiny by both the legislative and the executive branches of the government during the next few months. Discontent with the present program was expressed repeatedly during the debate in Congress on the amount of the appropriation for the 1956 fiscal year, and the request submitted by the administration was cut substantially despite a strong personal appeal by the President. There appeared to be general agreement on the need for a reappraisal, but opinions differed considerably as to how and by whom the studies should be made.

Proposals were advanced by the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and the House Foreign Affairs Committee for studies to be conducted by their members with the assistance of committee staff and possibly outside consultants. On June 13, Senator William F. Knowland (R) of California introduced a bill (S. 4035), favored by President Eisenhower, which proposed appointment of a Hoover-type commission (with membership from Congress, the executive branch, and private citizens) to study the subject. This proposal was rejected both in the Senate and in the House.

The House Foreign Affairs Committee, needing only the agreement of its own members since no request for additional funds was necessary, voted unanimously on June 21 to investigate the "objectives, methods and results" of the foreign aid program and to submit its findings to the House by February 1, 1957. The investigation will be directed by Representative James P. Richards (D), of South Carolina, who led the successful House drive to cut this year's appropriation. The Senate Foreign Relations Committee also voted to make its own study, with emphasis less on the administration of the program than on a review of U.S. foreign aid policy. This proposal, which required approval by the entire Senate because it involves the use of money from the contingent funds of that body, was passed on July 11. The report of this committee is to be completed by January 31, 1957.

President Eisenhower, having failed to secure support for his commission plan, has not

moved to appoint any special study group but it is unlikely that next year's appropriations request for the foreign aid program will be drafted without extensive interagency discussions by representatives of the departments and bureaus responsible for the formulation of policy and administration of the program in this area.

Joint Committee for CIA Defeated

An attempt by members of the Senate to increase the extent of Congressional surveillance over the Central Intelligence Agency was defeated in the recent session of Congress.

The proposed measure (S. Con. Res. 2), which was introduced by Senator Mike Mansfield (D) of Montana and cosponsored by over thirty Senators from both parties, sought to establish a joint (Senate-House) committee on central intelligence similar to the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy, with responsibility for making "continuing studies" of the activities of the agency.

Creation of the joint committee was opposed by President Eisenhower, who was reported to believe the operations of CIA are too sensitive for this type of congressional supervision. A number of influential senators, including Richard B. Russell (D) of Georgia, Alben W. Barkley (D) of Kentucky, Carl Hayden (D) of Arizona, and William F. Knowland (R) of California, likewise opposed the resolution on the ground that it would give too many people access to important secrets with the possibility of dangerous information leaks. Under existing procedures, legislation affecting CIA is generally considered in closed sessions of subcommittees of the Senate and House Armed Services Committees, and appropriations for the agency are carried without identification in appropriations for other departments and agencies with which its operations are concerned such as Defense, State, FBI, Atomic Energy, and the National Security Council.

Shortly after the Mansfield resolution was scheduled for hearings last January, the President announced appointment of an eight-man citizens' board to monitor the activities of the Central Intelligence Agency and other units gathering security information. This action was partially responsive to recommendations made by the second Hoover Commission which

avored appointment of a "small, bipartisan commission" composed of members of both houses of Congress "and other public-spirited citizens commanding the utmost national respect and confidence" to conduct periodic surveys of CIA's work and report its findings to Congress and the President. The Eisenhower board, directed to meet "not less than once every six months for several days at a time," does not include any congressmen in its membership and reports only to the President.

Jurisdiction over Federal Areas

Action to make state and local laws applicable in many federally-owned land areas has been recommended to President Eisenhower by an interdepartmental committee composed of representatives of the principal land-holding agencies of the federal government under the chairmanship of the Justice Department.

Under existing procedures, the federal government, in acquiring land for post offices, military installations, national parks, veterans' hospitals, and many similar purposes, frequently has acquired over the land exclusive jurisdiction comparable to that which it exercises over the District of Columbia. Over a period of years this has resulted in the creation of numerous federalized areas in every state of the Union, to a total of several thousand in the forty-eight states. State and local governments lose their authority over these areas, residents of the areas lose the right to many privileges and services customarily made available by state and local governments to their inhabitants, and the areas in many other respects become federal "islands" surrounded by state territory.

The committee's report points out that the federal government has enacted very few laws for these areas. The laws in effect in them differ widely and are often obsolete, since generally they are the same laws which were in effect at the time of federalization of individual areas. Also, the federal government usually does not furnish for the areas the governmental machinery necessary to give effect to many laws which are basic to modern community living. While criminal laws of the surrounding state have been adopted for these areas, investigation and prosecution under these laws now must be by federal authorities.

Factual and legal information furnished to the committee by state attorneys general, federal agencies, and others disclosed that many problems and federal-state disputes arise out of federal exercise of this type of jurisdiction.

A committee analysis of operations of individual federal agencies further disclosed that except in a very few instances, and contrary to widely held belief, agencies have ample constitutional and statutory authority for conducting their operations fully and effectively without the exercise of the special type of jurisdiction which was the subject of the committee's study. The committee recommendation is that the federal government acquire this jurisdiction only in instances where it is necessary that the government render the basic law enforcement services ordinarily rendered by state and local governments, and that even in such cases it exercise this jurisdiction only concurrently with the states.

The committee's recommendations can be put into effect immediately with respect to most properties acquired by the federal government in the future. Federal and state legislation, which has been suggested by the committee, will be necessary for the relinquishment to the states of jurisdiction over properties now had by the federal government and for the acquisition of concurrent jurisdiction in some cases.

A bill incorporating the suggestions of the committee was introduced in the House of Representatives by Rep. William L. Dawson (D) of Illinois and the federal agencies concerned have been asked to submit their views on the subject, but no action was taken before adjournment. The Drafting Committee of the Governors' Conference is reviewing the report to determine whether additional implementation by their group is needed for action in the state legislatures.

State-Metropolitan Report

The Governors' Conference in 1955 directed the Council of State Governments, as the agency of all the states, to study the problem of government in metropolitan areas and to report the results, with recommendations pointing to improvement. To make the study the council obtained the services of John C. Bollens of the Department of Political Science, Univer-

sity of California at Los Angeles. Numerous individuals in interested organizations and agencies, both public and private, gave counsel and advice. The result is *The States and the Metropolitan Problem*, recently published by the Council.

Following a description of the general setting and the major problems of metropolitan areas in Part I, the Council's study devotes its longest section, Part II, to means by which state and other governments have sought to reduce the metropolitan difficulties. It describes six major devices utilized or discussed, and suggests the extent to which each may be useful today. Although it presents no panacea, it emphasizes three approaches—the metropolitan federation, the urban county, and the metropolitan special district—as offering outstanding promise. Past practice and current significance of annexation likewise receive close attention, and means of making it more effective are suggested.

The concluding section points up patterns of government and principles of organization that can serve metropolitan interests and recommends specific means by which the states can work with local governments and organizations to produce adequate solutions.

Copies of the report may be ordered from the Council of State Governments, 1313 East 60th St., Chicago 37. 163 pp. Cloth bound, \$3.00; paper bound, \$2.50.

Functional Directory for Revenue Work

The national office of the Internal Revenue Service has issued to its regional offices copies of a functional directory compiled by one of the district directors with the suggestion that the idea might be useful in other offices. The 22-page directory was compiled to help employees make direct contact with the particular organizational unit and individual concerned with the function about which inquiry is made. Entries in the directory range from administrative matters such as "requisitions for supplies" to technical tax subjects such as "self-employment tax," with a number of breakdowns under that caption. Telephone operators servicing the office where the directory is in use estimate that the number of calls switched from one extension to another has been reduced by 50 per cent. The directory has

also been distributed by a local professional association to its members who do tax work.

Toll Roads Re-Evaluated

The new federal highway measure approved by the last Congress contains a provision authorizing the Secretary of Commerce to study the possibility of repaying states for present toll roads and incorporating them as free highways in the nationwide superhighway system contemplated under this legislation.

Reports from various parts of the country give evidence of fading enthusiasm for toll roads as the way to pay for new highways. Some of the reasons are discussed in an article, "Toll Roads in Trouble," appearing in a recent issue of the *Newsletter* of the American Society of Planning Officials.

Three years ago the society warned that "toll roads are no panacea for America's highway problems" and it asserts that the statement is just as true today. Two reasons for the society's caution about the toll road idea are (1) that many parts of the nation do not have enough traffic to make toll roads pay and (2) free roads running alongside pay-as-you-go roads take away business.

The *Newsletter* article concludes that "although major toll roads have increased in the past ten years from approximately 300 miles to more than 1,845 miles, a rapid rise in toll road miles is not likely at this time."

A turnpike survey made by the municipal bond department of a New York investment house showed that \$3.6 billion in bonds for 3,489 miles of projected toll roads were delayed or abandoned last year. The survey also showed that the 1955 market was less than half the 1954 toll road bond issues.

At least eighteen states planning toll roads were unable to get them to the financing stage because they were judged to be unfeasible or because legal complications or objections could not be overcome in time. Unsatisfactory earnings on some toll roads is deterring the building of others. Toll collections in West Virginia and Ohio have fallen behind predictions of the yield. Lack of coordination between states is another drawback, as one state may expect to hook up a turnpike with one across the state line only to find that the neighboring state's toll road plans have fallen through.

Public protests against toll roads have also been a deterrent. Owners of filling stations, motels, and other lodgings along highways have complained that toll roads act as a wall between them and their motorist-customers. On the other hand, in some states rivalries have grown up between sections over which one will get a new toll road.

Judicial Review Provision Dropped

The necessity for establishing minimum wages to be paid for work done under the new federal highways program raised some familiar administrative questions. Senate and House versions of the bill both assigned to the Secretary of Labor responsibility for setting the minimum wages, based on prevailing rates in the area. In the Senate, however, an amendment was approved which would have made the minimum rates established by the Secretary subject to judicial review. Secretary Mitchell objected that enactment of such a provision would make it administratively impossible to enforce minimum wages for the highway program, and in response to his request the Senate amendment was dropped in conference.

Denial of Fire Insurance for Slums

The Board of Aldermen of Atlanta, Georgia, has adopted a resolution asking insurance companies to make sure that every building is "reasonably suited for human habitation" before issuing a fire protection policy. The National Association of Housing and Redevelopment Officials, which is the clearing house of information in its field, reports that so far as its records show this resolution is the first of its kind and makes Atlanta the first city officially to ask insurance companies to deny fire coverage to substandard housing as a way of getting owners to improve their property or face the possibility of losing their entire holdings in a fire.

This idea of enlisting insurance companies in the fight against substandard housing has been under consideration also in Milwaukee and Chicago. Milwaukee officials, discussing the subject before a civic group, pointed out that the frequent claims from slum area fires increase the costs of insurance on properties that are up to standard. They suggested that

government agencies should give insurance companies lists of below-standard properties. The importance of supplying insurance firms with information on substandard housing was also emphasized in a report by two Chicago citizens' groups interested in housing and city planning. The report suggested that (1) companies require proof of the good condition of a building before issuing insurance and (2) slum property owners be compelled by law to take out liability insurance.

Survey of Automation in Federal Government

The U. S. Civil Service Commission is making a study of the impact of automation on federal employees and federal personnel management. A survey staff, set up last January, is visiting government installations where major technological changes are occurring, meeting with the federal officials and employee organizations most directly concerned, and reviewing related experience in private industry.

Among the questions the commission is seeking to answer are: Which federal agencies are now concerned with large-scale technological changes? Are there employee recruitment, displacement, and training programs involved? What are federal agencies now doing about the personnel problems and needs arising from extensive technological changes?

The specific objectives of the survey are (1) to find out the extent of automation and other major technological changes in federal government operations; (2) to anticipate personnel management problems which may stem from such changes; and (3) to provide a basis for action in the field of federal personnel management as warranted by the survey findings.

Automation in California State Government

An item in *The New York Times* of June 7, 1956, announced the installation at the state capital in Sacramento, California, of over \$4 million worth of electronic equipment which is being used for a variety of accounting, record-keeping, and clerical operations. California was the first state to employ the so-called "giant brain," an International Business Machines electronic data processing device that

adds unemployment insurance claims in millionths of a second. It is also the first state to use a "medium-size brain," which does engineering calculations for highway construction at an estimated saving of \$250 per mile over manual methods.

Electric machinery writes the 2,500,000 checks totalling \$3,200,000,000 that the state issues annually. Automatic equipment in the controller's office processes \$12,000,000 in state money daily and maintains over 22,000 detail and control accounts over those funds.

A complete electronic data processing system maintains the employment and disability insurance records of 5,400,000 California employees and 275,000 employers. This machine is capable of making 237,000 additions or 50,000 multiplications or 24,000 divisions a minute and can make 434,000 decisions in terms of true and false answers in sixty seconds.

Other offices of the state making use of electronic machines are the Department of Motor Vehicles, which processes more than 7,000,000 vehicle registrations annually; the Department of Justice, which uses automation to search its criminal records; and the Department of Highway Patrol, which keeps automated accident records by a punched-card installation.

State officials report that they have had inquiries from thirty of the forty-eight states regarding their extensive experience with the application of electronic devices to the processes of state government.

Big City Parking Answers

One of America's great urban headaches—the parking problem—is discussed in a recent publication of the American Municipal Association. The bulletin, titled *Parking Space—What American Cities Are Doing to Provide It*, describes what six American cities are doing to solve their particular variations of this problem.

Ann Arbor, Michigan, has established a unified system of street meters, lots, and garages, keyed to a ten-year expansion plan that will nearly double the present facilities. Home of the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor must cope with about 25,000 registered cars and 400 student-owned cars, operating in seven square miles. After a survey, the city adopted a long-

range, pay-its-own-way parking plan by selling revenue bonds. All parking facilities are combined under one system, with income from parking meters, lots, and garages pledged to secure the bonds.

In Chicago, a court decision was needed to open the way for revenue bond financing. The plan recommended for Chicago was the operation of a city-owned parking system under private contract. A 1950 circuit court decision held that it was unconstitutional to manage such public undertakings through private enterprise, but the Illinois Supreme Court ultimately reversed this decision and the issuance of \$50 million in revenue bonds for providing parking space was authorized in 1952. The city now has parking decks with 8,069 spaces, plus 27,000 curb meters. Also, the Park District, a separate taxing agency, built a \$6 million lake-front underground garage with 2,400 spaces.

A cooperative venture in which the city supplements private enterprise gives Kansas City, Missouri, a five-part program which includes: a city-owned 1200-car garage; a parking project being carried out under a redevelopment program; another project designed to help merchants provide off-street parking; zoning requirements for minimum off-street parking; and traffic department supervision and regulation of both on- and off-street parking.

Orlando, Florida, has dealt with its traffic and parking problem without additional tax levies. The Orlando Parking Commission determined that meters would not only help solve the parking problem but would also provide needed revenue to finance off-street parking. A campaign to acquaint the public with the benefits of the plan, plus city council approval, resulted in the installation of meters, with good public acceptance. Revenue from them provided the means to buy sites for three metered parking facilities; funds to implement the program further were raised through sale of revenue bonds.

In Pittsburgh, an important item on the city's "Renaissance" program was the establishment of a parking authority. Acting on recommendations resulting from an engineering analysis, the authority borrowed \$2,500,000 from the local banks, while the city pledged its parking meter revenues, then averaging \$14,000 a month, to the authority. The first

two garages were completed in 1952. City facilities to date provide 4,037 spaces.

The sixth city described is Sacramento, capital of California and an agricultural center, where the ownership of vehicles is at the highest rate of any city in the United States. In 1951, after extensive study of the parking problem, the city sold a \$1,600,000 revenue bond issue to provide off-street facilities. By 1954, three lots had been acquired, two of which are large enough to require the services of an attendant in a tower to spot vacancies when the lot is crowded. Financial returns indicate that the Sacramento lots are paying off their debt quickly and showing an annual surplus of over \$50,000. Expansion plans call for an increase from the present 897 spaces to 1,165 in the next ten years.

Municipal Control of Radioactive Materials

A program to control atomic energy and radioactive materials within the city has been set up in Philadelphia because of the growing presence of radioactivity there. Estimates are that more than 4,000 X-ray machines are in use in the city and more than 2,000 applications have been submitted to the Atomic Energy Commission by Philadelphia concerns seeking radioactive isotopes.

Responsibility for the program has been given to the Air Pollution Control and Sanitation Division. Upon request, they will examine X-ray equipment and send Health Department specialists to plants where atomic materials are used. The employees in charge of checking on atomic energy installations receive special training at the Oak Ridge, Tennessee, Institute of Nuclear Studies.

Municipal Insurance Practices

The 1956 edition of the *Municipal Year Book*, published by the International City Managers' Association, includes for the first time a section on municipal insurance, based on a survey of the practices of 738 cities on this subject.

Fire insurance is more widely used by cities than any other type. Of the cities reporting, 98 per cent said that they insure city property against fire losses. The extent of coverage

varies widely. Some cities insure all their buildings and properties at full value, while others insure only partially. Motor vehicle public liability insurance ranks next to fire protection in city popularity, with 87.7 per cent of the reporting cities using it. General public liability is carried by 64.2 per cent.

Only 15 of 738 cities reported that they carried none of these three kinds of insurance. These cities include some of the nation's biggest, among them New York, Chicago, Los Angeles, and Philadelphia. The reason is that for very large cities the expense of carrying adequate insurance with private companies would be considerably larger than probable losses. In such cities, normal losses and claims for a single year can be met through regular budget provisions or special appropriations.

Indications are that many cities pay excessive premiums for the protection afforded. Only 12 per cent of the reporting cities used competitive bidding when buying fire insurance and 25 per cent used it for general and motor vehicle liability. In recent years, calling for competitive bids on municipal insurance has been on the increase, but there has been no widespread acceptance of the idea. The method most cities use to place all types of municipal insurance is to assign it to a group of local insurance representatives. Under this system, the insurance is then written by a representative of one company and the premiums are divided among the participants.

Standards for New Civic Centers

Cities and counties in all parts of the country are building or making plans to build new civic centers to accommodate government activities which have outgrown quarters provided many years ago before the communities had reached their present size and complexity. To aid officials in developing plans for new centers, the American Society of Planning Officials has prepared for its members a Planning Advisory Service report, *Civic Center Planning*, which discusses a number of factors which it is important to consider in order to make sure that the new government headquarters will provide convenient service to the public and enhance the attractiveness of the community.

Decisions must be made first of all about

which government agencies need to be near one another. In one city, for instance, similarity of functions pointed to the desirability of putting the offices for the police department, the county sheriff, and the U. S. marshal in locations near one another. Some cities, short of space for the main center, may decide to locate relatively self-contained units like a city garage or a board of education away from the center. Others may prefer to have a separate cluster of buildings for cultural activities, such as auditoriums and libraries, which are not concerned with the actual governing of local affairs.

The continuing trend toward annexation of areas around cities and the growing urbanization of counties suggest the possibility that eventually branch administrative centers should be considered as an alternative to enlargement of downtown government offices. The report warns that space requirements should be established which allow for further expansion to keep pace with rising population, technological innovations, enlarged governmental functions, and the creation of new departments.

Special zoning provisions have been enacted by some cities to regulate the use of land surrounding a civic center site. The provisions fall into three groups: (1) establishing a review board with authority to pass on the architectural features of any building erected in the area; (2) creation of a special zoning district for public buildings; and (3) regulation of signs located within the civic center area.

Annual Report on Slides

The latest annual report of Wichita, Kansas, is presented on more than 140 colored slides with a recorded commentary. The slides are shown on request to school, church, and civic groups, and portions of the set have been featured on television. An automatic slide projector in the city hall lobby shows sections of the report to anyone who comes in. A police photo technician made the slides and a public relations consultant was employed part time to write the commentary.

Off-Duty Employment Problems

Top police and fire officials in the city of Denver met recently with private union repre-

sentatives to discuss problems arising out of the fact that large numbers of public service employees in these fields take jobs in private industry during their off-duty hours. The irregular schedules which characterize the work of policemen and firemen—alternating between round-the-clock shifts and time-off periods ranging from 24 to 48 hours at a stretch—lend themselves to arrangements for additional daytime employment. In Denver, a survey showed that 287 police (or 46 per cent of the total force) and 245 firemen (or 45 per cent) held private, off-duty jobs. Of those numbers, only 16 policemen and 30 firemen held union cards for the off-duty work, and it was this situation which prompted the union representatives to seek the conference with the public officials.

Agreement was reached at the meeting that whenever a union complains that a fireman or policeman is keeping a civilian worker from a job, the complaint will go to an arbitration board of police, fire, and union officials. If the board honors the complaint, the officer in question must either resign from the force or quit his off-duty job. It is taken for granted, of course, that no work at any outside job will be allowed if it interferes with a man's official duties.

A related problem has been reported to the Civil Service Assembly from the city of Cleveland, Ohio, where over twenty members of the police force indicated their desire to transfer to the fire department, ostensibly in order to be able to spend more time on outside jobs. Cleveland police are on a 40-hour week, but their shifts rotate each month around the clock so that their off-duty periods come at irregular times. Their part-time employment is limited to 20 hours a week and must be of a nature acceptable to the department. Firemen work 60 hours a week, but are on duty 24 hours at a time, followed by off-duty periods of equal or greater length, and there is no limit on the hours they may spend at outside employment.

Graduate Program and Fellowship in Regional Science

The University of Pennsylvania has announced the addition to its curriculum of a graduate program leading to the Doctor of Philosophy in Regional Science and the estab-

lishment of a \$2,500 graduate fellowship in the same subject. The new program is to be administered by the existing interdisciplinary Committee on City Planning of the Graduate School of Arts and Sciences. The fellowship is offered by the Institute for Urban Studies of the university, and recipients will be expected to devote some time to research projects in regional science conducted by the institute or the Department of Economics.

Address inquiries regarding the fellowship to the Director, Institute for Urban Studies, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia 4, Pa. General information regarding the program is contained in a supplement to the Bulletin of the Graduate School of Arts and Sciences.

Graduate Program in Natural Resources Administration

The Institute of Public Administration and the Conservation Department of the School of Natural Resources at the University of Michigan are joint sponsors of a new program leading to the degree of Master of Science in the Horace H. Rackham School of Graduate Studies. Designed to help meet the needs of persons who are planning to work in administrative-technical positions, the program is under the direction of the department working in close cooperation with the institute. The degree requires the satisfactory completion of 36 hours of graduate work as follows: 10 hours in public administration, 12 hours in conservation, 6 hours of supervised field training, and 8 hours of electives. Students interested in further graduate work in natural resources and administration can go on to the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the Horace H. Rackham School.

Correspondence concerning the program may be addressed to the Director of the Institute or the Chairman of the Department of Conservation, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan.

Summer Work-Study Program in State Government

The New York State government this year instituted a ten-week summer work-study program for college seniors, designed to give them a close look at the career opportunities available to college-trained personnel while work-

ing as an integral part of the government. Twenty-three students, all residents of New York but not all from New York colleges, worked in 14 agencies, all in Albany, although some had assignments that took them occasionally to other locales. Informal sessions with top state officials were also provided to give students a broader picture of the state government.

The students were chosen on the basis of scholastic ability and interest in government service. College officials were asked to select the students who would best represent their schools. Only one student was chosen from any college or university. Trainees received \$60 per week and free lodging in the State University dormitory in Albany.

Sponsored by the New York State Department of Civil Service, it is the hope that after graduation these students will return to state employment and that they will influence their classmates to compete for state positions.

Yugoslav Institute of Public Administration

An Institute of Public Administration and Business Management was founded by the Yugoslav Government at Belgrade in the summer of 1951. The objectives of the institute are (1) to undertake study and research for improvement of organization and methods in public administration and business; (2) to prepare and publish essays and proceedings with the same objective; (3) to support the education and training of professional staff employed in public administration and business; and (4) to cooperate with scientific and professional institutions in Yugoslavia and abroad dealing with the same or similar problems.

The institute is headed by a board of nine members chosen from among scientific workers and practitioners in public administration and business, nominated by the government. The office of executive member of the board is performed by Dr. Nikola Stjepanović. The permanent head of the Institute is Dr. Pavle Kovač. The institute has a small number of permanent associates and engages outside experts for particular problems.

The institute has prepared and published a number of essays, monographs, and handbooks on different problems and has organized vari-

ous lectures and professional meetings. A one-year college for officers of the executive class is being guided by the institute as well. The setting up of an institution for administrative officers is under consideration and the institute is taking an active part in solving this problem.

Two periodicals are issued regularly by the institute: *Nova administracija* (*New Administration*) and *Dokumentacija* (*Documentation*)—the latter being used for summaries of articles from other periodicals and daily papers dealing with public administration or business problems. These summaries are arranged according to the Universal Decimal Classification.

The institute maintains active cooperation with the International Institute of Administrative Sciences in Brussels, Dr. Leon Geršković, president of the board, being a member of the Committee of Administrative Practices and Dr. Nikola Stjepanović a member of the Scientific Committee of the International Institute.

Inter-American Management Conference in Chile

The Pan American Council of the International Management Council has announced that the First Inter-American Management Conference will be held in Santiago, Chile, on November 12-17, 1956. Don Eugenio Heiremans, a former president of the Chilean Management Council, is chairman of the Program Committee which has agreed on the following subjects for discussion at the conference: philosophy of managers, productivity in agriculture, human relations, public relations, production, and organization of PACCIOS—its relationships with CIOS and with affiliated management societies and institutes.

For further details regarding this conference, write to Philip Garey, Vice President in Charge of Operations, Council for International Progress in Management, 51 East 42d Street, New York 17, New York, or to Don Eugenio Heiremans, Casilla 13120, Santiago, Chile.

1957 Congress of IULA

The 1957 Congress of the International Union of Local Authorities will be held at The Hague, June 12 to 19, 1957. Since these

dates partially overlap the period of the Holland Festival, congress delegates will be able to attend the cultural events of this celebration.

The congress subjects have been chosen in accordance with the proposals made at the meeting of the General Council held during the Rome Congress. The general theme of The Hague Congress will be "Town and Country." The subjects to be dealt with under this theme (subjects 2 and 3 being to a certain degree special aspects of subject 1) will be: (1) problems of expanding towns: their relation to the general situation in rural areas; (2) the traffic congestion in the inner city; and (3) the development of community life in rural areas, among other ways by the creation of community centers.

Inquiries regarding this meeting may be addressed to N. Arkema, Secretary General, IULA, Paleisstraat 5, The Hague.

Race Relations Publication

The nation's first reporting service dealing exclusively with race relations from the legal point of view is being published and sponsored by the School of Law at Vanderbilt University. Entitled *Race Relations Law Reporter*, the new magazine will publish six issues a year at a subscription cost of \$2.00. It is designed to provide all persons concerned with race problems with detailed current information on court decisions, state constitutional provisions, statutes, city ordinances, opinions of attorneys general, regulations of state departments of education, and rulings of local boards. It will also cover legal problems encountered in the fields of public schools, rail and bus transportation, parks, golf courses, swimming pools, labor unions, and sports.

The magazine is national in scope and coverage. The first issue, in addition to comprehensive coverage on school segregation in southern states and elsewhere, contains reports on the legal problems involved in the marriage of a Chinese and a Caucasian in Virginia; charges of discrimination against Mexicans and Negroes in a California school; the right of an American Indian veteran of the Korean War to be buried in an Iowa cemetery where a lot had been purchased; and the rights of a Japanese alien in Montana.

1906-1956
GOLDEN ANNIVERSARY YEAR
for the CIVIL SERVICE ASSEMBLY
of the United States and Canada

The Civil Service Assembly is proud of the role it has played over the last half century in extending the merit system, in improving the techniques personnel people use to do their job, in raising the competence of men and women in the profession. On the occasion of our 50th Birthday we are going to celebrate the achievements of the Assembly, but we are also going to assess accomplishments and plan new goals.

The October, 1956, issue of CSA's quarterly journal *Public Personnel Review* will be a Golden Anniversary Issue titled:

PERSPECTIVE IN PUBLIC PERSONNEL ADMINISTRATION:
A Collection of Essays to Commemorate the Golden Anniversary
of the Civil Service Assembly of the United States and Canada

This special issue is planned as a benchmark reference work with twenty articles on broad aspects of personnel administration by recognized authorities in their fields. Men and women prominent in the profession will use their knowledge and experience to summarize and forecast developments in such areas as:

- *The Personnel Function in Government*—The changing personnel needs of government since the turn of the century in the light of the tremendous increase and variety of government functions.
- *Benchmark Court Decisions*—Leading Court decisions which have set precedents for public personnel administration.
- *Employee Motivation*—Contributions made by research in the behavioral sciences to morale, motivation, and output of employees.
- *Career Opportunities in the Public Service*—Analysis and evaluation of personnel practices that contribute to better career opportunities in the public service.
- *Employee Organization in the Public Service*—Trends in employee organization, and laws dealing with union rights and responsibilities.
- *Technical Assistance in Personnel Administration*—Experience in providing assistance to foreign governments in remodeling their personnel programs.
- *Security and the Public Service*—The causes and forces which lead the federal government and many state and local governments to develop programs for screening employees and applicants on the basis of character and loyalty.

The Golden Anniversary Issue of *Public Personnel Review* will be mailed to all Civil Service Assembly members as one of their regular publications at no extra cost. Special price for this issue to nonmembers is \$3.50. (Publication date: October 1, 1956.)

Golden Anniversary Conference

Hotel Statler

October 7-12

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